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STUDIES IN THE EPIC TECHNIQUE OF ORAL VERSE-MAKING

II. THE HOMERIC LANGUAGE AS THE LANGUAGE OF AN ORAL POETRY

BY MILMAN PARRY

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I. THE HOMERIC LANGUAGE AND THE HOMERIC DICTION

WITHIN the last twenty years Homeric scholars have shown that the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a poetic language made to suit the needs of the verse, and they have thereby done away with a whole number of hypotheses which were no longer needed. A brief account of these earlier theories of Homer's language will serve to set forth the subject of the present pages. The reader should bear in mind that we are speaking here at the beginning about language, and not about diction or style. All three have to do with the sum of words, word-forms, and word-groupings used by a man. As *language*, however, we look at them as used by a certain people, at a certain time, and in a certain place; as *diction*, as the material by which thought is expressed; and as *style*, as the form of thought.

Older Theories of the Homeric Language

The common view of Homer's language in antiquity was that which, while it seems the simplest, is likewise the farthest from the truth:

Homer himself chose various forms and words from the dialects which he had heard in his travels about Greece.¹ Such a view could of course be held only in the lack of any careful study of the Greek dialects and of Homer's language, for we now know that some of the forms in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are much older than others, while some could never have been a part of the everyday speech of any Greek. Also Homer's use of the forms and words of different dialects follows a fixed rule and no varying chance of memory.² The gravest fault of such a theory, however, is that it supposes that one man could all by himself create a poetic language. Such a thing has been seen nowhere. No single poet could ever have such powers; and a poetic language, it is clear, is poetic only by a convention shared by the poet and his hearers, so that the growth of a poetic language must be gradual.

The ancients, since they had no rigorous historical method of literary criticism, may be excused for such a mistake, but not so the authors of a recent theory who hold that Homer was the native of a city wherein a mixed population of Aeolians and Ionians had come to speak a language having the same variety of forms as that found in the Homeric poems.³ Such a view altogether overlooks the nature of Greek poetic diction as it is to be seen everywhere in the poetry of the historical period; by the same reasoning the population of Attica was partly Dorian. Nor has anyone anywhere found a spoken language which shows even faintly such a variety of forms current side by side.

A third theory, which found many believers at the end of the last

¹ [Plutarch], *Life and Poetry of Homer* 2, 8; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 11, 23.

² See pp. 4-5.

³ The latest critic to hold this idea is T. W. Allen in his *Homer: the Origins and Transmission* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 98-109, where he claims to be developing the views of P. Giles (cf. *Proceedings of the Cambridge [England] Philological Society*, 1916, pp. 7-9), whose very sensible view, however, he has failed to understand. He did not know, it would seem, that the theory had already been set forth by Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin*, 1906, pp. 52-75, and *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 356 ff.), and straightway disproved (cf. E. Drerup, *Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart*, Würzburg, 1921, p. 110). For the views of a linguist on such a theory see A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*³, p. 171. There is scarcely any need of giving further warning against the theory, but one finds even so good a critic as C. M. Bowra falling into the error in a milder way. In his *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 139-140, he compares Homer's Ionic and Aeolic with Chaucer's English and French —

century, held that Homer's language was altogether Ionic and that the variety of forms was due to a simple literary conservatism which kept the older forms from age to age for purely stylistic reasons.¹ This view, like the next which will be mentioned, is much better than the first two, since it has a part of the truth in it. Its authors, however, had insufficient linguistic knowledge when they held that all of the Aeolisms in Homer had at one time been used in earlier Ionic, since many of the forms in question are the creation of a later period than that of common Greek. Yet their greatest faults were those of giving no

the comparison shows that the author is thinking of Homer in terms of written literature: "Chaucer wrote for a class who knew both English and French, and for whom his mixed language was intelligible. But it was essentially his own creation. His predecessors wrote in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but he created a new language for English verse. If we press the analogy, it would follow that Homer lived in a world where different dialects, though existing separately, impinged on each other and were mutually intelligible. Out of this situation Homer or his predecessors created a poetical speech." Bowra, however, somewhat misses the nature of Chaucer's language, as one may judge by the following statement of A. W. Pollard (*Chaucer in the Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed.): "The part played by Chaucer in the development of the English language has often been overrated. He neither corrupted it, as used to be said, by introducing French words which it would otherwise have avoided, nor bore any such part in fixing it as was afterwards played by the translators of the Bible. The practical identity of Chaucer's language with that of Gower shows that both merely used the best English of their day with the care and slightly conservative tendency which befitted poets." Moreover the French part of Chaucer's language, as of English, is of a very certain kind, namely abstract words without which the pattern of European, as opposed to Anglo-Saxon, thought could not be kept, and names of objects brought in by French culture. It could be held only in the rarest cases that the Aeolic element in Homer thus represented any contribution of thought or culture foreign to Ionic.

As this article goes to press I find that Allen's unlucky theory is accepted by B. F. C. Atkinson (*The Greek Language*, London, 1931, p. 201): "We shall not be far wrong in regarding it [i. e. the Homeric language] as in the hands of the poet of the epics a living language against whose everyday use in the island of Chios earlier than the ninth century we know no valid reason." It is criticism enough to have quoted the statement.

¹ The theory was first set forth by K. Sittl (*Die Aeolismen der homerischen Sprache in Philologus*, XLIII, 1884, pp. 1-31), and answered by G. Hinrichs (*Herr Dr Karl Sittl und die homerischen Aeolismen*, Berlin, 1884); cf. his *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis* (Berolini, 1875). It was developed in English chiefly by D. B. Monro (*Journal of Philology*, IX, 1880, pp. 252-265; XI, 1882, pp. 56-60; *Homeric Grammar*², Oxford, 1891, pp. 386-396). See below p. 27.

good reason for so strong a conservatism and of failing to see that the different forms are used under fixed conditions.

The last of the earlier theories is one of the oldest of all, since it was already held by Zopyrus and Dicaearchus at the end of the fourth century B.C.: τὴν δὲ ποιήσιν ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι ἀξιοῖ Ζώπυρος ὁ Μάγνης Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Δικαίαρχος.¹ This hypothesis as developed by A. Fick won both more favor and more scorn than it deserved.² The favor it should not have had because Fick in putting it into practice used a method far too arbitrary, and those who scorn it now do not see that it first brought into prominence the two facts on which the whole problem of Homeric language hinges, namely that Homer's poetry can with no very great change be turned from Ionic into Aeolic, and that the non-Ionic forms are kept as a rule only when Ionic itself has no forms which could take their place. K. Witte, when he wrote that the Homeric language is the work of the Homeric verse, gave the better reason for this, but it was Fick nevertheless who made the needed if false step, and we shall see what a large amount of truth there was after all in his views.

The Homeric Language as a Poetic Language

Witte was able to show long lists of words from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in which Aeolic or older forms stood beside Ionic forms, always with a difference of metrical value, and he was further able to show that these different forms were suited for use in different places in the verse.³ As we shall see,⁴ he failed to consider Arcado-Cyprian, and had no notion of an Aeolic poetic language, and so was wrong in thinking that some of these Ionic forms were only Ionic and so could not have been used by Aeolic poets. But this misunderstanding in no way affects the soundness of the principle which he drew from his evidence:

¹ F. Osann, *Anecdotum Romanum* (Gissae, 1851), p. 5; cf. p. 280.

² August Fick, *Die homerische Odyssee in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt* (Göttingen, 1883); *Die homerische Ilias* (Göttingen, 1886); *Die Entstehung der Odyssee* (Göttingen, 1910).

³ K. Witte, *Homeros B) Sprache* in Pauly-Wissowa, VIII (1913), coll. 2213-2247. The subject has been further developed by K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig, 1921).

⁴ Pp. 26-27, 32.

the Homeric poems were composed in a poetic language wherein old and foreign forms had been kept and new forms brought in by reason of the help they gave the epic poets in making their hexameters. These poets ever sought a language which was easier to handle, and for that reason ever made use of the fact that the older or foreign form of a word was to a Greek, as Aristotle tells us, more poetic than the form used in everyday speech.¹

The Homeric Language as an Oral Poetic Language

In one way, however, the theory of Witte, even with the further work done on it by Meister, is unfinished: they have logically proved that the language of Homer is the work of the Homeric verse, but they have not at all shown how the verse in this case could have such power. It did not have it in the later Greek epic, nor in Roman hexameter verse, nor in short do we find elsewhere in ancient or modern literature (with the very notable exception, however, of the early poetry of the nations) any but the slightest traces of the verse-form acting on the language of the poetry. Clearly a special language for the hexameter could come into being only when poetry was of a very different sort from that which we ourselves write, and which we know to have been written throughout the history of European literature. To say that the Homeric language was the work of the Homeric verse thus implies a poetry which is, at least to our way of thinking, of a very special kind, so that while the theory may be proved it cannot really be understood until we know just what this poetry was.

It is my own view, as those who have read my studies on Homeric style know, that the nature of Homeric poetry can be grasped only when one has seen that it is composed in a diction which is oral, and so formulaic, and so traditional.² So it is for the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: if we know what an oral diction is we shall have the larger

¹ *Rhetoric* 1404^b 10.

² *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928); *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris, 1928); *The Homeric Gloss* in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), pp. 233-247; *Enjambement in Homeric Verse*, *ib.* LX (1929), pp. 200-220; *Homer and Homeric Style* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLI (1930), pp. 73-147; *The Traditional Metaphor in Homer* in *Classical Philology*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 30-43.

background which the theory of a language made to fit the hexameter calls for. At the same time the Homeric language when thus explained by the diction will in turn give us the history of that diction.

2. THE TRADITIONAL POETIC LANGUAGE OF ORAL POETRY

The Formula

In a society where there is no reading and writing, the poet, as we know from the study of such peoples in our own time, always makes his verse out of formulas. He can do it in no other way. Not having the device of pen and paper which, as he composed, would hold his partly formed thought in safe-keeping while his unhampered mind ranged where it would after other ideas and other words, he makes his verses by choosing from a vast number of fixed phrases which he has heard in the poems of other poets.¹ Each one of these phrases does this: it expresses a given idea in words which fit into a given length of the verse. Each one of these fixed phrases, or formulas, is an extraordinary creation in itself.² It gives the words which are best suited for the expression of the idea, and is made up of just those parts of speech which, in the place which it is to fill in the verse, will accord with the formulas which go before and after to make the sentence and the verse. Each formula is thus made in view of the other formulas with which it is to be joined; and the formulas taken all together make up a diction which is the material for a completely unified technique of verse-making.³ Finally, the formulas of an oral poetry are not each one of them without

¹ Cf. A. van Gennep on the Serbian epic (*La question d'Homère*, Paris, 1909, p. 52): "Les poésies des guslars sont une juxtaposition de clichés, relativement peu nombreux et qu'il suffit de posséder. Le développement de chacun de ces clichés se fait automatiquement, suivant des règles fixes. Seul leur ordre peut varier. Un bon guslar est celui qui joue de ses clichés comme nous avec des cartes, qui les ordonne diversement suivant le parti qu'il en veut tirer." Cf. also F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Volksforschungen* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 183-184, and John Meier, *Werden und Leben des Volksepos* (Halle, 1909), pp. 17-19.

² For a fuller definition of the formula see *L'épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 15-17; *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 80-84.

³ For the technique of composition by formulas see *L'épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 8-19, 45-145; *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 10-13, 17-23, 48-52; *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 84-89, 140-147.

likeness to any other; in that case the technique would be far too unwieldy. They fall into smaller groups of phrases which have between them a likeness of idea and words, and these in turn fall into groups which have a larger pattern in common, until the whole diction is schematized in such a way that the poet, habituated to the scheme, hits without effort, as he composes, upon the type of formula and the particular formula which, at any point in his poem, he needs to carry on his verse and his sentence.¹

A single man or even a whole group of men who set out in the most careful way could not make even a beginning at such an oral diction. It must be the work of many poets over many generations. When one singer (for such is the name these oral poets most often give themselves)² has hit upon a phrase which is pleasing and easily used, other singers will hear it, and then, when faced at the same point in the line with the need of expressing the same idea, they will recall it and use it. If the phrase is so good poetically and so useful metrically that it becomes in time the one best way to express a certain idea in a given length of the verse, and as such is passed on from one generation of poets to another, it has won a place for itself in the oral diction as a formula. But if it does not suit in every way, or if a better way of fitting the idea to the verse and the sentence is found, it is straightway forgotten, or lives only for a short time, since with each new poet and

¹ For the schematization of the formulaic diction see *L'épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 19-24, 85-94; *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 84-89, 140-147. W. Radloff (*Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen Türkischen Stämme. V. Der Dialect der Kara-Kirgisen*, p. xvii) gives the words in which an oral poet tells of the ease with which he composes: "Ich kann überhaupt jedes Lied singen, denn Gott hat mir diese Gesangesgabe ins Herz gepflanzt. Er giebt mir das Wort auf die Zunge, ohne dass ich zu suchen habe, ich habe keines meiner Lieder erlernt, alles entquellt meinem Innern, aus mir heraus." This is a commentary on two passages in Homer:

θ 44 τῶι γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν
τέρπειν ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν,

χ 347 αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἶμας
παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

For the meaning of αὐτοδίδακτος cf. *Kalevala*, I, 36 ff.; Radloff, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxi; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Algiers, 1920), pp. 330-331.

² Greek ἀοιδός, Serbian *pjevač*, Finnish *laulaja*.

with each new generation of poets it must undergo the twofold test of being found pleasing and useful. In time the needed number of such phrases is made up: each idea to be expressed in the poetry has its formula for each metrical need, and the poet, who would not think of trying to express ideas outside the traditional field of thought of the poetry, can make his verses easily by means of a diction which time has proved to be the best.

Actually, of course, this birth of a diction is beyond observation, and unless it can really be shown that a people reverting from written to oral poetry created anew a formulaic diction we must suppose that it took place in a very distant past, since the poetry of an unlettered race has as much claim to age as have any of its other institutions. But if the birth of a formulaic diction is only to be described theoretically, we can see in living oral poetries how such a diction is passed on from one age to another, and how it gradually changes.

The young poet learns from some older singer not simply the general style of the poetry, but the whole formulaic diction. This he does by hearing and remembering many poems, until the diction has become for him the habitual mode of poetic thought.¹ He knows no other

¹ Cf. Mathias Murko, *La poésie populaire épique en Yougoslavie au début du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 12: "Les chanteurs commencent à apprendre à jouer des *gusle* et à recueillir la tradition épique dès leur tendre enfance, sur les genoux d'un père ou d'un aïeul, ou d'autres parents, ou de familiers, puis dans le public, la plupart du temps entre dix et douze ans, mais toujours en général jeunes, 'alors qu'ils ne pensent encore à rien,' jusque vers l'âge d'environ vingt-cinq ans. Il leur suffit d'ordinaire d'entendre chanter un chant une seule fois, et, quand ils sont plus âgés, plusieurs fois." Cf. also the same work, p. 42, paragraph 18, and D. Comparetti, *Traditional Poetry of the Finns* (English translation, London, 1898), p. 20. In countries where the art of the singer is a paying profession there is a more formal apprenticeship; cf. James Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-1890), p. cxcii: "Le *qum* novice va auprès d'un *qum* célèbre qui est devenue maître, *ustâd*; il devient son *shâgird*, son disciple. Le maître lui enseigne ses propres chansons, puis les chansons des grands chanteurs passés ou présents, et les chansons les plus populaires de Khushhâl Khân. Il l'emmène à la *hujra*, où l'on se réunit tous les soirs pour causer des nouvelles du jour et écouter quiconque a un conte à conter ou une chanson à chanter. . . . Quand le *shâgird* commence à se sentir assez fort pour voler de ses propres ailes, il quitte son maître, compose en son propre nom et devient *ustâd* à son tour." Cf. also H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Algiers, 1920), p. 331.

style, and he is ever kept from quitting the traditional diction and using phrases of his own make because he could not find any as pleasing or as useful as the old ones, and moreover, since he is composing by word of mouth, he must go on without stopping from one phrase to the next. Since his poetry has being only in the course of his singing, and is not fixed on paper where it can show itself to him verse by verse, he never thinks of it critically phrase by phrase, but only faces the problem of its style when he is actually under the stress of singing. Thus whatever change the single poet makes in the traditional diction is slight, perhaps the change of an old formula, or the making of a new one on the pattern of an old, or the fusing of old formulas, or a new way of putting them together.¹ An oral style is thus highly conservative;² yet the causes for change are there, and sooner or later must come into play.

These causes for change have nothing to do with any wish on the part of the single poet for what is new or striking in style. They exist above the poets, and are two: the never-ceasing change in all spoken language, and the association between peoples of a single language but of different dialects.

The Archaic Element

As the spoken language changes, the traditional diction of an oral poetry likewise changes so long as there is no need of giving up any of the formulas. For example, a change in the sound of a vowel or consonant which calls for no change in the metrical value of a word soon

¹ Cf. *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 134-147.

² A. Dozon, *L'épopée Serbe* (Paris, 1888), pp. lxxiii f.: "L'âge des pesmas n'est pas une question facile à résoudre. En présence de l'uniformité de style et de langue qui les caractérise, on n'a pour guide, afin de constater du moins leur ancienneté relative, qu'un reste de couleur plus antique ou plus barbare . . . pour ces sujets mêmes qu'une célébrité exceptionnelle maintient dans la tradition vivante et qui peuvent tenter quelque chanteur, on y trouvera à la vérité certains anachronismes: la composition, le style et l'esprit de la pesma ne varieront pas. Pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'à lire, par exemple, la pièce des *Adieux de Karageorge*, qui date de 1813, et la comparer avec les plus anciennes. Rien, sinon l'incident qui en forme le fond, ne vous avertit qu'il y a entre elles un espace de plusieurs siècles." It should be added, however, that this uniformity of style is due as well to the fact that the language of the older poems changes along with the language of the diction as a whole; cf. below, pp. 11-12.

makes its way into the poetic language: the singer naturally pronounces the word as he usually does, and there is not the least thing to keep him from doing so. But when a change in the form of a word must also change its metrical value it is far otherwise, for the poet, if he then wished to keep up with the spoken language, would have to put up with a phrase which was metrically false, or give it up altogether and make himself a new one. But neither of these two choices is at all pleasing. The rhythm must be kept fairly regular,¹ and the oral verse-making makes it very hard for him to find new words; it is even doubtful if with all the good will and time in the world he could do so in any great number of cases. Each formula, as it was said above, is the long-proven choice of a long line of singers, and it is not possible that a phrase which is useful in oral composition could be made in any other way than by a singer who, making his verses through his sense of the scheme of the formulaic diction, created, in the stress of the moment, a new phrase more or less like an older one. For otherwise the new phrase would not fit into the scheme of the diction, and since it could be used only with an effort it would not be used at all.² Finally the change in the spoken language would very likely be such that a phrase to express the same idea in words of the same metrical pattern would be out of the question. The new phrase must be shorter or longer, or begin or end differently. Then the formulas to which it would be joined must also be

¹ It often happens, however, that oral poets will change a formula under the influence of the current language and yet keep it despite the false verse which is the result. Kaarle Krohn has noticed this in Estonian oral poetry (*Kalevalastudien I. Einleitung* in *F[olklore] F[ellow] Communications*, XVI (1924), pp. 56 f.: "Bei der feststellung der urform eines altestnischen liedes durch vergleichung der verschiedenen varianten kann somit die forderung aufgestellt werden, dass sie sowohl der älteren sprachform als den metrischen gesetzen der rune entsprechen muss. Für die beurteilung der in den varianten vorkommenden verse und ihrer variierenden formen ist diese doppelte forderung ein ausgezeichnetes kriterium. Ein scheinbar fehlerhafter vers kann, wenn er in die ältere sprachform zurückgedacht metrisch regelrecht wird, der urform angehört haben. Als spätere interpolation muss dagegen ein scheinbar fehlerfreier vers angesehen werden, der in die ältere sprachform zurückgedacht eine überzahl von silben aufweist." For the same thing in Greek epic poetry see *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 43-58; and see below, pp. 33 n. 1, 36, 44 n. 1. Such cases show how the usefulness of the formula overtops all else in oral verse-making.

² Cf. *Homer and Homeric Style*, p. 147.

changed, and so on. Thus by no wilful choice, but by the constraint of his technique of verse-making, the singer keeps the formula though its language has become archaic.¹

As it happens, this archaic language does not at all displease him. His style is thus lifted above the commonplace of daily speech and made distant and wondrous. But though the old words and forms are thus desirable, they are never wilfully sought after. When the formula can be changed it sooner or later will be, and the cleavage between the old and the new in the style depends on whether it is easy or hard to change the formula.² An oral diction may thus in time become very archaic, since even though a word has been lost altogether from the spoken language its context in the poetry will teach the poet and his public its meaning. In the case of words which are not a needed part of the thought, such as the ornamental epithets, the meaning of the word may even be lost altogether.³ In time, however, a point must be reached in the case of each formula where its meaning, needed for the thought, is lost, and here an even heavier constraint than ease of

¹ For this strong conservatism of the formulaic technique cf. *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 43-65.

² It should be added here, however, that a form or word easily changed may nevertheless be kept for a long time because it is bound with the words which go before or after into a larger word-group which the singers feel as a single whole; but such survivals are not apt to be common. Cf. below, pp. 35-37 ff.

³ Cf. *The Homeric Gloss*, pp. 243-244; A. Rambaud, *La Russie épique* (Paris, 1876), pp. 18-19: "Les chanteurs ne comprennent pas toujours ce qu'ils chantent: la langue a vieilli et plus d'un vers s'est altéré. Si on leur demande compte d'une expression singulière ou d'un passage obscur, ils répondent invariablement: 'Cela se chante ainsi,' ou bien: 'Les anciens chantaient ainsi; nous ne savons ce que cela veut dire' . . . Ce qui prouve la ténacité de la mémoire populaire, c'est que le paysan de l'Onéga continue à chanter les 'chênes robustes,' et 'la stipe de la prairie' et 'la plantureuse campagne,' bien que ces traits de la nature kiévienne ne répondent en rien à la nature qu'il a sous les yeux, et que de sa vie il n'ait vu un chêne. Il parle de casques, de carquois et de massues d'acier, bien qu'il n'ait même pas une idée de ces sortes d'armes, de 'l'aurochs au poil brun' et du 'lion rugissant,' bien que ces animaux qui ont pu exister dans l'ancienne Scythie, lui soient aussi inconnus que les quadrupèdes australiens. . . . Ces scrupules n'ont pas empêché qu'il ne se glissât parfois dans les bylines des détails étrangement modernes. . . . C'est ainsi qu'on voit des héros écrire sur du papier timbré, ou encore, sur le point d'attaquer un dragon ou un géant, braquer sur lui une lunette d'approche." Cf. also, Basset, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

verse-making comes into play: the formula must be given up cost what it may, and the singers must do the best they can to find another one to take its place. Thus the language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily when no loss of formulas is called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with others that belong to earlier stages of the language.¹ The number of new words and old words varies, of course, from one oral poetry to another as different factors have force: a complex verse-form, a fondness for tales of an heroic past rather than of the present, and the practice of poetry by a class of professional singers all tend toward a greater conservatism, whereas a short verse without enjambement, a change in the way of living of a people, and the lack of a class whose gain it is to keep the best poetry of the past all allow a quicker change. But the principle of change and conservatism of language is the same in all cases.

The Art of Traditional Poetry

I have written so far, in telling of how the language of oral poetry comes to be archaic, as if the formula were the unit of diction, and such it is in the end. But in practice the oral poet by no means limits his borrowing to the single formula; rather he uses whole passages which he has heard. This is, indeed, his whole art: to make a poem like the poems he has heard.² I know only too well that this is sure to suggest

¹ For numerous examples of the conservatism of the oral poetic diction see O. Böckel, *Psychologie der Volksdichtung* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 59-63. Böckel himself altogether misses the nature of the poetic language; witness his use of the term *Schriftsprache*.

² Cf. W. Radloff, *op. cit.*: "Man glaube nun nicht, dass dieses Improvisiren ein jedesmaliges Neudichten ist. Es geht dem improvisirenden Sänger gerade, so wie dem Improvisator auf dem Klavier. Wie der letztere verschiedene ihm bekannte Läufe, Uebergänge, Motive nach der Eingebung des Augenblicks in ein Stimmungsbild zusammenfügt und so das Neue aus dem ihm geläufigen Alten zusammenstellt, so auch der Sänger epischer Lieder. Er hat durch eine ausgedehnte Uebung im Vortrage, ganze Reihen von Vortragstheilen, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, in Bereitschaft, die er dem Gange der Erzählung nach in passender Weise zusammenfügt. Solche Vortragstheile sind die Schilderungen gewisser Vorfälle und Situationen, wie die Geburt eines Helden, das Aufwachsen eines Helden, Preis der

the thought of plagiarism to those not familiar with oral poetry, but it must be understood above all that plagiarism is not possible in traditional literature. One oral poet is better than another not because he has by himself found a more striking way of expressing his own thought but because he has been better able to make use of the tradition. He strives not to create a new ideal in poetry but to achieve that which everyone knows to be the best. This is true even of the poetry which may tell of happenings of the singer's own day: the event may be new, but it will be told in the traditional way on the pattern of passages from other poems, and in more or less the same phrases as were used in those passages, so that the only difference between the poem made about the present and that which tells of the past is that the former will be made from the memory of a larger number of different poems.¹ For if the tale

Waffen, Vorbereitung zum Kampf, das Getöse des Kampfes, Unterredung der Helden vor dem Kampfe, die Schilderung von Persönlichkeiten und Pferden, das Charakteristische der bekannten Helden, Preis der Schönheit der Braut, Beschreibung des Wohnsitzes, der Jurte, eines Gastmahles, Aufforderung zum Mahle, Tod eines Helden, Todtenklage, Schilderung eines Landschaftsbildes, des Einbrechens der Nacht und des Anbruchs des Tages und viele Andere. Die Kunst des Sängers besteht nur darin, alle diese fertigen Bildtheilchen so aneinander zu reihen, wie dies der Lauf der Begebenheiten fordert und sie durch neu gedichtete Verse zu verbinden." Cf. also Murko, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Basset, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

¹ Cf. G. Gesemann's account of the composition in 1914, in the military hospital of Kragujevac, of a poem on the death of the son of one of the hospital surgeons (*Studien zur südslavischen Volksepik*, Reichenberg, 1926, p. 66): "Der Sänger sang sofort drauf los, das erstemal bezeichnenderweise mit Einkleidung des Ganzen in einem der häufigsten traditionellen Kompositionsschemata. Natürlich, er war ja nicht dabei gewesen, als der junge Mann fiel. So stilisierte er das Ereignis in einer Weise, die es ihm ermöglichte, etwa hundert Verse herzusingen und seiner Aufgabe zu genügen, ohne sich auf reale Einzelheiten einlassen zu müssen: Da liessen sich zwei Raben auf dem Dache der Kaserne nieder mit blutigen Flügeln und blutigem Schnabel, da fragt sie der Oberst, von wo sie kommen. Sie kommen aus der Mačva, wo grosse Kämpfe sind. Sie werden gefragt, ob die Serben gesiegt haben, ob Šabac noch in Feindes Hand ist usw., nein die Stadt ist befreit, die Serben haben gesiegt. Ob der Sohn nun bald auf Urlaub kommt, mit einem Orden geziert? Einen Orden trägt er, aber heim kommt er nicht mehr. — Ein paar Tage später hörte ich denselben Sänger in einer anderen Krankenstube dasselbe Lied singen, und siehe da, er hatte nicht nur das eben angeführte Kompositionsschema aufgegeben, indem er es nur noch als Einleitung benutzte, dann aber gleich nach der ersten Frage an die Raben zur Schilderung einer Schlacht überging, die sich durch ziemlich viel realistische Züge auszeichnete und auch das Bild des Gefallenen irgendwie persönlicher

is old, and, as is usually the case, regarded as more or less true, the singer may tell it just about as he heard it.

Yet no graver mistake could be made than to think the art of the singer calls only for memory. Those who have sought to record oral poetry in lands where it still lives have straightway found that the same poem, that is to say, a poem on the same subject, could be sung badly or well, and that the people carefully set apart the poor singers from the good.¹ Still the fame of such a singer comes not from quitting the tradition but from putting it to the best use. The poorer singer will repeat a poem with the loss of its most pleasing lines or its most dramatic moments, but the good singer will keep what is striking, and even add, on the pattern of other poems, lines which he knows will please, and new incidents, or give a fuller tale with many such borrowings. He may even have heard the same tale told by a singer living at a distance who inherited from a different tradition; then he will fuse the poems, using the best in each. Thus the highest sort of oral verse-making achieves the new by the best and most varied and perhaps the fullest use of the old. This is the meaning of what Telemachus says:

zu zeichnen versuchte. Er hatte offenbar die Führung durch ein festes Schema der Erzählung nicht mehr nötig, er hatte wahrscheinlich auch von Kameraden irgendwelche Einzelheiten inzwischen gehört, die er jetzt verwandte. Aber eins blieb erhalten: die episch-heroische, feudale Stilisierung der Einzelzüge und des Gesamtgehalts." Cf. also M. Murko, *Neues über südslavische Volksepik* in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XLIII (1919), p. 294; John Meier, *Werden und Leben des Volksepos*, pp. 11-17.

¹ Cf. Murko, *op. cit.*, p. 21: "Un bon chanteur peut faire d'un poème médiocre un poème remarquable, et un mauvais chanteur gâter le meilleur poème. Ce n'est pas à tort que, souvent Vuk Karadžić cherchait un chanteur de qualité pour se faire dicter tel chant qui ne lui avait plu. Les auditeurs apprécient, eux aussi, cet art du chanteur. Un bey m'exprima un jour son admiration en ces termes: 'Moi, je ne saurais même pas faire une composition de trois mots.' En Herzégovine, on m'a parlé de paysans qui auraient donné le meilleur boeuf de leur étable pour savoir chanter un seul chant.

"Les chanteurs sont des artistes, le fait qu'ils se montrent extrêmement jaloux l'un de l'autre le prouve encore. Un jour, à Sarajevo, après avoir recueilli des phonogrammes de trois chanteurs, je donnai à tous trois la même récompense. L'un d'entre eux refusa de l'accepter. Je flairai aussitôt que je l'avais froissé de quelque manière. Les personnes présentes me prévinrent en effet qu'il se considérait comme un bien meilleur chanteur que les deux autres."

τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι
ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται.¹

It is the same in all thriving oral poetries. The good singer wins his fame by his ease and versatility in handling a tradition which he knows more thoroughly than anyone else and of which his talent shows him the highest use, but his poetry remains throughout the sum of longer and shorter passages which he has heard.²

The formula thus is by no means the unit of the singer's poetry, but it nevertheless ever tends to become so, for no singer ever tells the same tale twice in the same words. His poem will always follow the same general pattern, but this verse or that will be left out, or replaced by another verse or part of a verse, and he will leave out and add whole passages as the time and the mood of his hearers calls for a fuller or a briefer telling of a tale or of a given part of a tale. Thus the oral poem even in the mouth of the same singer is ever in a state of change; and it is the same when his poetry is sung by others.³ His great name and the

¹ α 351-352.

² Cf. Gesemann, *op. cit.*, p. 68: "Ein Improvisator muss improvisieren können. Er muss nicht nur ein Dichter sein, um unter Umständen ein neues Lied singen zu können — das war besonders bei Višnjić der Fall — er muss als Haupterfordernis seines Dichterberufes nicht nur einem alten, überlieferten Liede sein 'adäquate' Form geben, d. h. die höchsten künstlerischen Möglichkeiten, die ein Stoff in sich trägt, herausarbeiten Können — er muss also nicht nur im Rahmen traditionellen Fühlens und mit traditionellen Stilmitteln eine von der eigenen künstlerischen Persönlichkeit durchwärmte Leistung hervorbringen können, sondern er muss, um alles dieses zu können, eine vollkommene Beherrschung über die Formenelemente seines Kunststils fertig mitbringen, wenn ihm eine Improvisation oder ein teilweise improvisierter Vortrag gelingen soll."

³ The researches of M. Murko on this point will long remain a model of method for students of oral poetry (*op. cit.*, pp. 16-17): "On a longtemps cru, et l'on croit encore, que les chanteurs ne modifient pas les poèmes. . . . J'ai déjà dit qu'au contraire il peut à volonté raccourcir ou allonger ses chants et que le même poème peut être très différent, quant au fond, dans les versions de divers chanteurs. Il est bien certain que dans de telles conditions un texte ne peut demeurer immuable. Deux fois, j'ai emporté avec moi le phonographe perfectionné de l'Académie de Vienne. Je n'ai pu enregistrer avec cet appareil les longs chants épiques, mais il m'a suffi de fragments de moins de 30 vers pour constater quelque chose d'inattendu. Comme il était prescrit de noter chaque texte avant l'enregistrement phonographique, je demandais au chanteur de s'exercer, au préalable, une fois

fame of his verse may urge those who have learned from him to a more careful and more faithful use of memory than that which they would show for the poetry of a lesser singer. But the memory of the hearer depends after all on his being habituated to the diction as a whole, rather than on the learning of the poem word by word, so that he too must change and add and leave out verses and parts of verses, and this process will go on until all that is left of the poem are its single formulas and shorter passages which are the final units in the traditional diction. It should be added here that an oral poetry practiced by guilds of singers with masters and apprentices would tend to a more faithful

devant le pavillon, tandis qu'un sténographe notait le texte. J'avais ainsi à la fois trois textes, et j'en ai même eu quatre dans un cas. La comparaison a montré que ce ne sont pas seulement des mots isolés ou l'ordre des mots, mais des vers entiers qui apparaissent sous une forme entièrement nouvelle ou disparaissent, si bien que sur 15 vers dictés, par exemple, il n'en reste plus que 8 chantés. Un bon chanteur musulman du nord-ouest de la Bosnie modifiait à chaque fois le premier vers lui-même.

"Il dicta une première fois:

Beg Osman beg rano podranio (figure étymologique)

"Le bey Osman bey s'est levé de bon matin";

puis en s'exerçant:

Beg Osman beg na bedem izidje

"Le bey Osman bey est monté sur les remparts";

et puis il chanta:

Beg Osman beg niz Posavlje gleda

"Le bey Osman bey regarde la plaine de la Save."

. . . Dans le monastère orthodoxe de Duži près de Trebinje, en Herzégovine, nous avons entendu les chants d'un paysan attaché au monastère. . . . Un des moines et l'instituteur avaient écrit le commencement du chant sous sa dictée. Je les priai de noter les variantes au cours du chant, mais ils furent contraints d'y renoncer dès le second vers. . . . Il est désormais bien clair pour moi que les chants que nous possédons aujourd'hui imprimés n'ont tous été qu'une seule fois chantés, ou plus exactement dictés, et cela, lors de leur mise par écrit. C'est pourquoi aussi toutes les tentatives faites pour reconstituer un chant dans sa forme originelle sont vaines. La comparaison des différentes variantes ne peut nous permettre de déterminer que le contenu primitif ou encore des parties ou des vers." The bibliography of these phonographic studies is given *op. cit.*, p. 7, and the author has given a summary of them, *Neues über südslavische Volksepik*, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XLIII (1919), pp. 273-296. Cf. also Radloff, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi-xxviii; Basset, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307.

keeping of poems which had won fame, and that one singer might win such a name that his disciples would find their profit in keeping his poetry as nearly without change as they could; but then they are no longer singers but rhapsodes, their task is not that of creation but only of memory, and they are merely keeping from age to age the verse which was first composed by a singer who made his poetry, in the way that we have seen, by an ever varying use of what he had sung and heard others sing.

The Foreign Element

When poems thus pass from one singer to another in the same region the language of the poetry undergoes no change other than that which time may set upon it. But when the poets of one locality hear the poetry of a singer who speaks another dialect of their language their own traditional poetic language may undergo a much more rapid change. One must suppose that the two dialects are enough alike for their speakers to understand each other fairly well, and that the poems from abroad are such as to please. The fame of some singer may have spread until other singers came from afar to hear him; or the way of life in one region may have brought about a great liking for poetry, so that it was practiced more intensely and carried to a higher point; or the singers may have made their living by carrying their songs abroad.¹ In some way, then, the foreign poems are heard by the local singers and repeated more or less as they have been heard, and just as they have brought into their poetic language new words and forms of their

¹ For the way in which the poetry is spread cf. A. Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie* (Paris, 1867), p. iv: "Ces poésies sont répandues parmi le peuple par des chanteurs de profession qui parcourent les villages et vivent des offrandes du public. Cette profession est ordinairement héréditaire et se transmet de père en fils, souvent pendant plusieurs générations. . . . Quelques-uns néanmoins . . . vivent retirés dans leur villages. Leurs vers ne restent pas dans l'oubli pour cela. Dès qu'ils ont acquis une certaine réputation, les chanteurs qui n'ont pas reçu le don poétique viennent, souvent de fort loin, enrichir auprès d'eux leur répertoire. Moyennant une rétribution assez légère, mais toujours proportionnelle aux succès déjà obtenus par l'auteur, celui-ci leur répète ses chansons jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient gravées dans leur mémoire. Ils vont alors les répandre dans le public et les apprennent, par le même procédé, à leurs collègues." Cf. *Hymn to Apollo*, vv. 173-176.

spoken language, so do they make the foreign poetry fit their spoken language in so far as they can do so without any too great loss. The new poems thus take on straightway a local color, but they keep those foreign forms which cannot be changed without harm to the verse, as well as words whose meaning may be known only from the context or which may be meaningless.¹ In time these poems, by the unending process of change which has been told of above, become fused with the local poetry, yet even when they have been lost as poems they leave their mark upon the poetic language. Coming from a tradition which has developed separately, the foreign poems have in them many pleas-

¹ Cf. K. Krohn, *Kalevalastudien I* in *F[olklore] F[ellows] Communications*, XVI (1924), pp. 76-77: "Dass noch in der neuesten zeit estnische lieder über die Narova nach Ingermanland gewandert sind, beweist am klärsten ein ausläufer des estnischen liedes von der freierei der himmelslichter, der auf der insel Lavansaari in der nähe der westingermanländischen küste aufgezeichnet worden ist. In diesem finden wir nicht nur einzelne wörter, die in ihrer estnischen form und bedeutung beibehalten, wie z. b. *opunen* (fi. *hevonen*) 'pferd,' *soittamaan* = *sõitamaie* 'fahren' (fi. bedeutung 'spielen'), oder durch ein ähnlich lautendes finnisches wort verschiedener bedeutung ersetzt worden sind, wie z. b. *poikinensa* 'mit seinen söhnen' < *poisikene* 'söhnchen,' *lassa* 'als kind' < *las* 'lasse,' *sängyn* 'des bettes' < *särgi* 'des hemdes,' *vilu* 'kälte' < *Viru* 'Wierland.' Auch ganze sätze sind bis zur unverständlichkeit und zu reinem unsinn verdreht worden. Der estnischen aufforderung zum tanze, bis eine mark aus dem boden, ein ferdig zwischen den zehen, aus der drehung des schuhabsatzes hervorspringt (*marko maasta, veerik varvaste vahelta, kinga kanna kierämistä*), entspricht in dem finnischen abklatsch: *marka* (statt *markka*) *maasta, verikorval ei vaella* 'die blutigen ohren wandern nicht,' *kimmi kammi kieremästä* (unverständlich). Weiter wird im estnischen geschildert, wie die schlafende jungfrau; *Hebemesta keitas kieltä* 'aus dem federbette warf die zunge,' *kõneles kivikojasta* 'sprach aus dem steingebäude'; diese zeilen sind im finnischen ohne rücksicht auf den gedanken lautlich nachgeahmt worden: *hedelmästä heitä kiellä* wörtlich: 'von der frucht sie verbiete,' *kojota (?) kivi kovasta* 'aus dem harten.' Ähnliche sinnlose übertragungen aus dem finnischen finden wir in den zauberliedern Nordostestiens. Fi. *mailto* 'milch' ist einfach als *maidu* übernommen, obgleich ihm im estnischen *piim* entspricht. Das in Ingermanland in *Tyrnän koski* verdrehte *Tyrjän koski* 'wasserfall von T.' (= stürmischer Tiberiassee) ist mit den worten *türna kaske* wiedergegeben, die im estnischen 'zwergbirke' und 'birke' bedeuten. Der finnischen zeile: *suonia sovittamahan* 'um die adern zusammenzupassen,' entspricht in einer estnischen handschrift: *Sohvia ei soovita Maie* 'Sophia empfiehlt nicht Marie,' ein unsinn, der nicht nur vom sänger, sondern auch vom aufschreiber herrührt." Cf. also Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Böckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-63; Basset, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-315.

ing and useful formulas which are kept even after the poems which brought them to the new land have been lost, and in these formulas live the forms and words of the foreign dialect. Then on the pattern of these formulas others will be made which, while they are foreign in their language, are nevertheless native work. Even as the poets kept archaic formulas and made new formulas with archaisms, so do they keep foreign formulas and make formulas with foreign forms, so that a foreign word or form may show that a passage in a given poem was made abroad, or may prove no more than a contact at one time between the poetry of two regions. The poet and his hearers, it should be noted, in no way think of these words and forms as the words of a certain locality: like the archaic elements, they simply serve to carry the style above the commonplace of everyday speech.¹

The Artificial Element

Finally, to the archaic, the new, and the foreign elements must be added a fourth and last: the artificial. Since the language of an oral poet is already far removed from daily speech, his public will not wonder at him if he should use a form which has never really been used anywhere. A whole new word no poet could make, since no one could understand him if he did, but he may make a form like another. That is to say, he may make the artificial by analogy with the real. The reason for such a creation is of course the same which leads the singers to keep the old and foreign forms, namely the need of a formula of a certain length which can be gotten only by this means. One poet, driven by this need, and making his verses under the sense of analogy which binds together the whole technique of his diction, will hit upon such a phrase, another will take it up, and it too will win its own place in the traditional poetic language.² Another kind of artificial form is due to the only partial adaptation of old or foreign forms. In certain cases the meter will allow part of a word to be modernized but force the singers to keep the rest of the word unchanged.³

¹ Cf. above, p. 5 n. 1.

² For the part played by analogy in an oral style cf. *L'épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 85-94; *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 145-147.

³ The present article discusses only the second of these two kinds of artificial forms (pp. 32-34). For the first kind see K. Meister, *Die Homerische Kunst-*

3. THE STUDY OF A TRADITIONAL POETIC LANGUAGE

Such is the making of the language of an oral poetry. That the Homeric poems were oral is shown by their diction, which, being formulaic, can only be traditional and oral. Putting the two sets of facts together, we see that the variety of words and forms which so long puzzled Homeric scholars is the natural and necessary condition of the Homeric diction. Being oral it must be traditional, and being traditional it must have in it old words and forms, and it could be without foreign words and forms only if the people among whom it was developed had been cut off from the rest of Hellas. Until very lately scholars have started with the study of the forms and words in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and have sought in them an answer which could not be true because, though they were not aware of it, they were basing their search on their belief that they were written in just the same way they themselves would write poetry. But the sounder way, it is now clear, is first to learn the oral nature of the Homeric poems — this is shown us by the diction quite apart from the language — and then to turn to other poetries of the same kind, where we learn, besides many other things, that the language of Greek heroic poetry could not have been any other than it is.

Even more, the knowledge that the Homeric diction is traditional gives us the method we need for the study of the Homeric language, and shows us what we may hope to learn from it.

I. — *The spoken dialect of the author of an oral poem is shown by his poetic language, which will tend to be the same as his spoken language wherever he has no metrical reason to use an older or foreign word or form or construction.* Many scholars, when forced to show why the language of an oral poem follows a given dialect wherever the meter will allow, have supposed the text to be due to a scribe who, in copying a poem from another dialect, changed it to his own language where he could. To the bookish mind such a process may seem quite natural; yet it is hard to see why a scribe should have wanted to do such a thing.

sprache (Leipzig, 1921); such forms, to give a few examples from many, are ἡνιοχῆς beside the nominative ἡνίοχος, προσώπατα as a plural to πρόσωπον, the subjunctive in -ηισι, δῶ, σέθεν, θέαιναι, all the forms with lengthening of a normally short vowel, and so on.

If he was merely copying the poem for other readers, why should he think that they would find it harder to read the original than he found it? If it was in order that the poem might be read to local hearers, why should he change only single forms or small groups of words? The foreign words and forms where the metrical value was different from that of his own dialect would be quite as puzzling to his hearers, and since he had writing materials to aid him at his task he should not find it much harder to change the language of the poem from beginning to end. When one does away with the factor of oral verse-making and its ever-present check on change there is nothing left to show why the change of language in a poem should be only partial. Further, the change of dialect which one thus finds in an oral poetry is so regular in its smallest points that one would have to suppose that such a scribe kept card indexes. But all such theories, after one has grasped the notion of traditional oral poetry, are seen to be forced.¹

II. — *On the other hand an oral poet, composing in a diction which follows his own language where it can, may be using phrases and passages which are neither his own work nor that of other poets of the same dialect, whether of his own or of an earlier time, but borrowings from the poetry of another dialect.* Thus one cannot say that a given phrase or passage in a poem is the work of the author, or of another poet of the author's linguistic group, just because it has forms of the author's language. Such a phrase or passage may have been taken from another dialect and changed only where the forms had the same metrical value. Thus the proof that a given phrase or passage is the original work of the author's dialect calls for the same demonstration by metrical value as the proof that it is the work of a foreign dialect.²

III. — *A given word, form, or group of words can be proved to be the original work of poets speaking a given dialect only when it can be shown that no other dialect which had had a part in the history of the poetry had, in either its spoken or its poetic language, the same word or form or group of words with the same metrical value.* That the poetic as well as the spoken language of another dialect must be taken into account is a fact which is usually overlooked. But it is clear that the poetic language of one region is as subject to change under the poetry of its

¹ Cf. above, pp. 9-12, 17-19 and below, pp. 24-25.

² Cf. pp. 43-47.

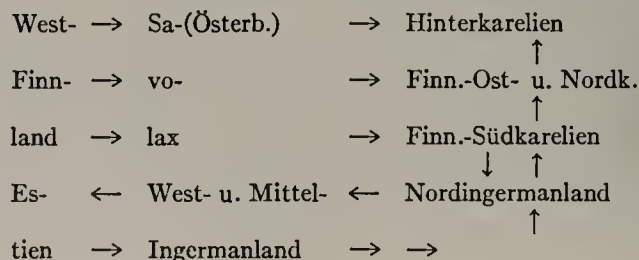
neighbors as is that of another region, and just as likely to show the same variety of forms. Thus the form which may seem to be the work of the author's dialect may instead be taken from abroad, where it was a foreign form taken from still a third dialect.¹

IV. — *Conversely, a word or form or group of words which is metrically false, or fails to make sense, must be the work of a dialect whose words and forms when used would make the verse correct, or give it meaning.* In making use of this principle, however, the critic must be quite sure he has to do in a given case with a word or phrase which is really metrically false and meaningless.²

V (exception to I). — *A foreign or older form may be kept in the poetic language even when the poet's own language has a form which could take its place, but such a keeping, apart from metrical reasons, will be due to the regular use of the form along with other words which are always used as a group and which the poet feels as such, or to the poetic character of the word, or to some other such special reason.* This is most apt to be so when the words or forms used with it are themselves foreign or especially poetic, thus making a larger word-group which the singer feels as a whole, so that he changes none of its parts.³

VI (exception to IV). — *The working of a formulaic diction may itself be the cause of metrical faults.* These will be of two sorts: those which are due to the joining of formulas which do not fit, and those

¹ In the paragraph from Krohn quoted above (p. 18) mention was made of the passage of poems from Esthonia to Finland and from Finland to Esthonia. On page 61 of the same work the author gives a comprehensive diagram of the poetic influences between the different regions of Finland and Esthonia:



Cf. below, pp. 32, 37-38.

² Cf. above, pp. 10 n. 1, 11, 18, and below, pp. 32, 37-38.

³ Cf. pp. 35-37.

which come from changing a correct formula to fit the needs of a sentence.¹

VII (exception to III). — *A form which seems old or foreign may be a creation by analogy from forms which are really so.* The form, however, still stands to show that the poetry was at one time influenced by another dialect or that the tradition of the language is old.

VIII. — *A word, form, or group of words which is old or foreign is not in itself proof that the verse or passage in which it is found is the work of an older or foreign singer.* One must ever be ready to admit that a given poem may be made by putting together anything from single traditional words or phrases to whole traditional passages.²

4. THE HOMERIC LANGUAGE AS A TRADITIONAL AND ORAL POETIC LANGUAGE³

Any attempt to localize the traits of Homeric language must be largely balked by the conditions of the search: the lateness of the inscriptions, their small number which allows us to know only a part of the words and forms of any one dialect, and our complete, or almost complete, lack of them for many regions. The evidence quoted by the ancient grammarians is simply by itself untrustworthy because they had no sound linguistic or textual method, and so must be left aside unless it happens to agree with the evidence of the inscriptions. The manuscripts of the Ionic prose writers likewise give us little help, since they have suffered from the ignorance, and even more from the mistaken linguistic notions, of their editors and copiers. The remains of Ionic and Aeolic verse are more helpful, though they too have suf-

¹ On this point cf. *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 10-42. *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 138-140. These types of metrical fault are not discussed in the present article.

² Cf. above, pp. 12-17, and below, pp. 43-47.

³ Save where other sources are named, the dialectal evidence used in the following pages is taken from one of the following works: C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*² (Boston, 1928); F. Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* (Berlin, 1921-1924); O. Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* (Göttingen, 1891-1898).

ferred from copiers and mistaken theories of language, and their evidence, as we shall see, bears on the poetic rather than on the spoken language. Thus the study of Homeric language must be based above all on the inscriptions.

The Ionic Recording

The language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has at least one very common sound and one very common form which, as the prose inscriptions show us, were used only in Attic and Ionic speech, but which might have been replaced without harm to the meter by the sound and form of the other dialects: η for original \bar{a} , and the third singular of the imperfect $\eta\varsigma$. Original \bar{a} is found in inscriptions of all the other dialects, and $\eta\varsigma$ is found where that form of the verb occurs outside of Attic and Ionic, namely in West Greek, Boeotian, Lesbian, Arcadian, and Cyprian.¹ Neither η for \bar{a} nor $\eta\varsigma$ could be the archaism of another dialect.² These traits of Attic-Ionic, though only two, play such a part in the language that they are more than enough to show, in view of what was said above,³ that the singer (or singers), or rhapsodes, who composed, or gave final form to, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, spoke either Ionic or Attic. These traits of language do not, however, necessarily show whether the recording was due to Ionic singers, whose verse-making was a constant creation, or to Ionic rhapsodes, who were mere reciters, although all the evidence of contemporary oral poetry which I know points to the singer, and none to the rhapsode. Nor do they show in what measure the diction of the poem — words, phrases, verses, or passages — was the original creation of Ionic rather than foreign singers.

That the spoken language in question was Ionic and not Attic is shown by the following sounds and forms: η for original \bar{a} even after ϵ , ι , ρ , where Attic would have $-\bar{a}$; $-\sigma\sigma-$, $\eta\nu$ ($\epsilon\iota + \bar{a}\nu$), $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\eta$ for Attic $-\tau\tau-$, $\bar{a}\nu$, $\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\alpha$. Of these Ionic traits at least three — η

¹ Since there is no evidence that the language of the Homeric poems has any other elements than those of Ionic, Aeolic, and Arcado-Cyprian, the other dialects are referred to under the general term of West Greek.

² $\eta\varsigma$ is for $*\eta\sigma\tau$, cf. Vedic Sanskrit $\acute{a}h$.

³ Pp. 9-10.

after ϵ , ι , ρ , $-\sigma\sigma-$, and $\eta\nu$ — could not be Attic archaisms.¹ The various Ionic dialects are not well enough known to allow a more exact localization.²

Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, and Ionic

The various elements of the Homeric language are drawn from three dialects — Ionic, Aeolic, and Arcado-Cyprian. As we have just seen, the language was last affected by Ionic, and we have the following evidence to show us that the Arcado-Cyprian element was not brought into the language by any direct contact between Arcado-Cyprian and Ionic poetry, but came in along with the Aeolic element. The Homeric poems have Aeolic $\alpha\iota$ for Ionic $\epsilon\iota$ when the next word is $\kappa\epsilon$, $\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon$ being felt more or less as one word because of the foreign $\kappa\epsilon$. The Arcado-Cyprian form of the phrase, however, has $\epsilon\iota$ (Cyprian $\epsilon\ddot{\iota}$ $\kappa\epsilon$, Arcadian $\epsilon\iota\kappa \alpha\nu$), and had this phrase ever been known to the Ionic poets it must, because of the greater likeness to the Ionic form, have straightway taken the place of $\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon$.³ Likewise, the poems have Aeolic $\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, $\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, etc., whereas the knowledge of the Arcado-Cyprian forms $\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, $\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, etc., would have brought about their use because of their greater likeness to Ionic $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, $\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, etc., $\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ doubtless becoming $^*\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. $\Delta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\phi\acute{\eta}\rho$, where Arcado-Cyprian has $\delta\acute{o}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho$, point the same way; otherwise one must be willing to grant the bare possibility that $\delta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ might have taken the place of $\delta\acute{o}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ by analogy with other non-thematic infinitives in $-\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$, and that the legend of the Beasts (cf. below, p. 37) might not have been known in Arcado-Cyprian

¹ Even though $-\sigma\sigma-$ and $-\tau\tau-$ (cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 65) be only different writings for the same sound, $-\tau\tau-$ nevertheless proves an original Ionic recording of the poems. The relation of $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ to $\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$, and of $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\eta$ to $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$, is disputed. On η after ϵ , ι , ρ cf. W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy* (Cambridge, England, 1910), p. 3.

² West Ionic $-\tau\tau-$ and $-\rho\rho-$ would show that the recording was not Euboean. The use of $\delta\pi\omicron\iota$, $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, etc., is attested by inscriptions of Amorgos, Thasos, and Ceos, while the single form in κ so far brought to light is $\delta\kappa\omicron\iota\alpha$ from Erythrae. This might show that the last singer (or singers) or rhapsodes spoke island Ionic, but the evidence is slight (cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 87–88; H. W. Smyth, *Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects*. I. *Ionic* (Oxford, 1894), pp. 289–293). The use again of such forms as $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, etc., in Ionic prose would show that literary prose was developed by a different linguistic group (Miletus?) from that to which the recording was due. More cannot be said on the grounds of language.

³ Cf. below, p. 35.

poetry. The history of the Homeric language is thus seen to follow the order Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, Ionic, whatever may have been the influence back from Aeolic to Arcado-Cyprian and from Ionic to Aeolic.

The Arcado-Cyprian Element

The following Homeric forms are found, as far as the evidence of the inscriptions goes, neither in Ionic nor in Aeolic, but in Arcado-Cyprian; if they are found elsewhere it is in West Greek:¹ the infinitive of contract verbs in -ῆναι (Arcadian *κατυφρονῆναι*, Cyprian *κυμερῆναι*, Homeric *φορῆναι*, *ἀῆναι*, and also, therefore, *βιῶναι*); the declension of ηf-stems in -ης, -ην (Cyprian *ἰερῆς*, *γραφῆς*, Arcadian *hierḗn*, Homeric *ζαῆν*, *Ἄρην*, *Μέγην*); the suffix -τερος in the sense of one of a pair of things (Arcadian *τῶρρέντερον γένος*, Homeric *θηλύτεραι*, *θεώτεραι*, *ἀγρότερος*, etc.); Arcadian *δῶμα*, *ἄελιος*, *ἔσχεθον*, *ἄματα*; Arcadian and Cyprian *πτόλις* (Homeric *πτόλις*, *πτόλεμος*, cf. Eustathius *ὁ δὲ πτόλεμος Κυπρίων*).²

The following Homeric words are found in neither Ionic nor Aeolic inscriptions, but in Arcado-Cyprian; they occur in the Greek literature we know only as poetic words:

In Arcadian and Cyprian *αἶσα*, *ἔρπω*, *εὐχωλά*, *οἶφος*.

In Cyprian *φάναξ*, *ἀνώγω*, *ἀρτύω*, *αὐτάρ*, *ἔλος*, *ιδέ*, *πόσις*, *σπέος*, *χραύω*.

In Arcadian *ἀπύω*, *ἀσκηθῆς*, *δέαμαι*, *κέλευθος*, *λεύσσω*.³

If we consider how small a part of Arcado-Cyprian vocabulary it is which we know from the inscriptions, this number of poetic Homeric

¹ On Arcado-Cyprian in Homer see H. W. Smyth, *The Arcado-Cyprian Dialect* in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XVIII (1887), pp. 59-133; C. M. Bowra, *Homeric Words in Arcadian Inscriptions* in *Classical Quarterly*, XX (1926), pp. 168-176; Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 276-283.

² It is hard to see what sure conclusions can be drawn from the Arcadian name of a festival *Ἐκοτόνβοια*. Arcado-Cyprian *βόλομαι* is also found at Oropus and Eretria. Of the forms given above the following are found in West Greek: *ἄελιος*; *ἄματα* (in Aetolian); the pairing -τερος (in Elean).

³ *ἔρπω* and *ἀρτύω* occur also in West Greek. *Νυ* is found in Arcadian, in Cyprian, and in Boeotian, but its use in no one of these three places, is that found in Homer. Hesychius glosses *οὔνον* . . . *Κύπριοι δρόμον*, which is some reason to take *ἐριοῦνιος*, the epithet of Hermes, as Arcado-Cyprian. If E. Forrer's translation of the Boghaz-Keui tablets (*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, XXVII, 1924, pp. 114-118) is correct they show *κολρανος* to be an "Achaean" word.

words which we find in current usage in Arcadia and Cyprus is highly significant. It can be understood only by assuming that the Homeric diction comes, for a large part at least, from Arcado-Cyprian poetry. The most stable part of an oral diction is its vocabulary, since it is usually easier for a singer to change a form on the model of his own language than it is for him to give up one word and find another, and his art of verse-making is chiefly the art of using the traditional poetic words. The Aeolic element in the Homeric language seems indeed to have been more one of morphology than of vocabulary.

The Aeolic Element

The belief was held at one time that the Aeolisms in Homer were really only older forms of Ionic, but this was due to a misunderstanding of the nature of linguistic change, since most of the forms in question are due to two separate treatments of one original form. Thus the dative in *-εσσι* was formed on the analogy of the *εσ-* stems (*γένεσ-σι*, *βέλεσ-σι*); the first aorist in *-σσ-* on the analogy of *σ-* stems (*ἔθλασ-σα*, *ἔτέλεσ-σα*); the perfect active participle in *-ων*, *-οντα*, was formed after the present participle; *πίσυρες* for Ionic *τέσσαρες*, and *Φήρ* for Ionic *θήρ*, show different treatments of **qμ* and **ǵhμ*; *ῖα* for Ionic *μία* shows a complete absence of the initial **sm*; *ἀργεννός* and *ἄμμες* show different treatments of **-σν-* and **-σμ-* from those which gave Ionic *φαεινός* and *ἡμείς*. "Οππως, ὅπποι, etc. is an innovation of Lesbian, seemingly made after *ὅττι* (original **ὄδτι*). In view of the number of these certain Aeolisms it is clearly better to take also as Aeolisms those forms which might be earlier forms of Ionic, e.g. the genitives in *-ᾱο* and *-ᾱων* and in *-οιο*. Indeed the number of Homeric forms which are not Ionic but are found in other dialects is such that it seems to outweigh that of the archaic and artificial forms.

The following traits of the Homeric language are Aeolic:

(1) In Lesbian (Aeolic of Asia Minor), Thessalian, and Boeotian, the dative in *-εσσι*; *θερσ-* instead of *θαρσ-* (Homeric *Θερσίτης*, *Θερσίλοχος*, cf. Thessalian *Θερσίτας*, *Θερσιλόχειος*, etc.); *ῖα* instead of Ionic *μία*; the patronymic adjective instead of the genitive of the father's name (Homeric *Τελαμώνιος*, *Νηλῆιος*, etc.); the treatment of labio-velars as labials even before front vowels (Lesbian *πέσσυρες* according to Hesychius, cf. Balbilla *πέσυρα*, Sappho *πήλυι*, Boeotian *πέτταρες*,

Thessalian πέμπε, πεφειράκοντες, Homeric πίσυρες, πεμπώβολα, περιπλόμενος, ἔπλε, ἔπλετο, πέλομαι, etc., πέλωρ, πελώριος, Φήρ, and the variant reading φλίψεται for θλίψεται in ρ 221); declension of ηf-stems in -ῆος, -ῆι (Lesbian βασιλῆος, Thessalian βασιλεῖος, Boeotian βασιλεῖ); ἄμμες, ὕμμες, etc. (Lesbian and Thessalian, no evidence for Boeotian); the apocopated forms of the prepositions; the dual (Thessalian δέιμενε, ἀδ[?]άτοι, Boeotian ἐποιεστάταν, ἀνεθέταν, Lesbian [ἄν]δρε, τῷ ἐπιστάτα).¹

(2) In Lesbian and Thessalian the development of σ followed by a liquid or nasal into double liquids or double nasals respectively (Lesbian ἔμμεναι, Ζοννύσω, Ἄλληκτος, Thessalian ἔμμεν, Διοννύσοι, Homeric ἔμμεναι, ἔμμεν, φιλομμείδης, ἔμμορε, ἐρεβεννός, ἀργεννός, ἀγάννιφος, ἔννεον, ἄλληκτος, ἔλλαβε, ἔρρεον, ἐύρροος, καταρρέω); the change of *τι and *θι into σσ (Lesbian and Thessalian ὄσσος, etc., Lesbian μέσσος, Homeric ὄσσος, μέσσος, etc.); κάλλος instead of Ionic καλός in compounds, and in the comparative and superlative (Lesbian Καλλίκληι, etc., Thessalian Καλλιφρούντειος, etc., cf. Boeotian καλφός, Homeric Καλλιάνασσα, κάλλιον, καλλιγύναικα, etc.); κε instead of ἄν.

(3) In Lesbian ὅππως, ὅπποι, ὅττι, etc.; the infinitive of non-thematic forms in -μεναι (Lesbian ἔμμεναι, ἔδμεναι, θέμεναι, δόμεναι, Homeric ἔμμεναι, ἔδμεναι, θέμεναι, δόμεναι, etc.); ἀμβρότην (Homeric ἡμβροτον, βροτός, ἀμβρόσιος); ζα- from δια- (cf. Lesbian Ζοννύσω, Sappho ζα δ' ἐλεξάμαν, Homeric ζάθεος, ζατρεφής, etc.).

(4) In Lesbian and Boeotian the aorist in -σσ-.

(5) In Thessalian and Boeotian the thematic and non-thematic infinitive in -μεν (Thessalian ἔμμεν, θέμεν, δόμεν, Boeotian δόμεν, etc., Thessalian κρεννέμεν, πρασέμεν, Boeotian φερέμεν, etc., Homeric ἔμμεν, θέμεν, δόμεν, etc., ἀγέμεν, φερέμεν, etc., and the variant readings πολεμιζέμεν Π 834, ἀκούμεν Τ 79, etc.); the genitive in -οιο (Thessalian of Pelasgiotis and Perrhaebia Πανσουνέιοιο, πολέμοιο, etc.).

(6) In Boeotian the genitive in -ᾶο (Boeotian Ἀριστέαιο, etc.); the genitive in -ᾶων (Boeotian δραχμάων, etc., cf. Thessalian κοινάουν, etc.); τοί, ταί instead of οἱ, αἱ.²

¹ Cf. A. Cuny, *Le nombre duel en grec* (Paris, 1906), pp. 454-466, 487-505.

² The vocative in -ᾶ is attested only in Lesbian verse, which also has -ᾶ, so that there is nothing to show us which was the common form. The evidence for -φι as Aeolic is too slight to be given much weight (cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269).

Of all these Aeolic traits the only ones which are found in other dialects are the following: in Cyprian $\kappa\epsilon$; in Arcado-Cyprian the declension in $-\eta\phi\sigma$, $-\eta\phi\iota$, etc.; in West Greek the non-thematic infinitive in $-\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\sigma$, etc., $\tau\acute{o}\iota$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$; and in Arcadian and West Greek apocope in the prepositions. $\text{'}\Lambda\pi$, $\epsilon\pi$, and $\upsilon\pi$, however, are Thessalian only.¹ The only cases of apocope in Ionic inscriptions are two occurrences of $\pi\alpha\rho$. The Homeric words which have Aeolic (and original) \bar{a} where one would look for Ionic η are dealt with below (p. 36). The traces of the digamma in Homer are likewise Aeolic, and allow us to say from which of the three Aeolic groups the poetry passed to the Ionians, but before dealing with this sound we must understand the nature of the Lesbian poetic language.

The Traditional Language of Lesbian Lyric Poetry

The same forces which created the poetic epic language of Homer created the poetic lyric language of Sappho and Alcaeus. The scant remains of these two poets do not allow us to show, as we can do for Homer, that their diction is formulaic, and so oral and traditional. We do know, however, that Solon and Theognis were still following an oral tradition of iambic poetry,² and that they lived at that time, always so precious for our own knowledge of oral poetries of the past and present, when verse-making was oral but writing known and used as a means of recording and keeping.³ All that we know of the use of writing in Greece at the beginning of the sixth century points to the same thing for Sappho and Alcaeus. Yet while we may still feel some doubt as to the way in which they made their verses, there is not the least doubt that their poetic language was drawn from an oral tradition:

¹ One might add $-\bar{a}\phi\nu$ in Cyprian as equivalent to Boeotian $-\bar{a}\phi$.

² Cf. *Homer and Homeric Style*, pp. 91-92.

³ Cf. Murko, *La poésie épique en Yougoslavie* ". . . Mujo Selimotić, paysan, ne sait pas lire, chante des poèmes qui durent jusqu'à des quatre heures" (p. 46). ". . . Ilija Gašljević, riche meunier, qui a dicté un gros recueil de chants populaires au curé catholique" (p. 34). "Mais le plus grand ennemi du chanteur, c'est l'instruction moderne. Les recueils ont fait perdre l'intérêt aux chants populaires (je n'ai gagné la confiance de nombreux chanteurs qu'en leur assurant que je ne prendrais pas note de leurs poèmes)" (p. 30).

only in an oral poetry does one ever find such a variety of forms that have each one its own metrical value.¹

Thus Sappho and Alcaeus use the endings of the spoken language, that is of the inscriptions, -ω, -ā, -āν, -εσσι, -οισι, -οντες (perfect active participle), but they also use -οιο, -āο, -āων, -σι, -οις, -ότες; although the forms with -σσ- were the current forms, they also have ὄσος, μέσος, ὑπίσω, and first aorists such as ἐσκέδασ', ὤλεσαν; beside Lesbian πόλις, ἔδωκαν, ἔσχον, ἶρος, ἄλιος, δόμος, they have πτόλις, ἔδοσαν, ἔσκεθον, ἕρος, ἀέλιος, δῶμα; beside παρ, which we always find in the inscriptions, they have the longer παρα, and where their speech used ἄπυ they shorten to ἄπ; they have the uncontracted νόος beside νῶ.

The foregoing forms are either archaic or found in other dialects than Lesbian; the following are artificial forms: ἄμμεσιν beside Aeolic ἄμμιν; the genitives ἔμεθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν; Νηρήιδες beside Νηρείδες; the transfer of endings from one declension or conjugation to another, as in πόλῃος, τεμένῃος, ἔχῃσθα; the use of ν-movable which, in verb-forms at least, was foreign to Lesbian; artificial forms such as ὠράνω, ποικιλόδειροι, ὠρεσι, πωλυανάκτιδα, ὠλομένην, beside ὀράνω, δέραι, ὄρεσι, πόλν. In all these cases there is a difference in the metrical value of the forms; the language is the work of the verse.

It is my own view² that initial digamma had been altogether lost in Lesbian by the time of Alcaeus and Sappho. Where it still seems to be called for to prevent hiatus or make position, it is not the sound itself, but its one-time presence, which is felt, much in the same way that the French feel the one-time presence of *h-aspiré*. It was likely that even in everyday speech certain word-groups that had had an initial digamma were long kept without elision, as the combination of the unelided article before *h-aspiré* keeps the traces of that sound in French (δέ οἱ may be such an instance), but the greater number of cases in Lesbian poetry, as in Homer, must have been due to the keeping of the poetic formula. The poets and their hearers, being used to these formulas, would feel no fault where there was hiatus or failure to make position, while on the other hand, if they were using newer phrases, they were free to treat the word as if it had never had the

¹ For the language of Sappho and Alcaeus cf. E. Lobel, *Σάπφους Μέλη* (Oxford, 1925), pp. xxviii-lxxvi; *Ἀλκαίου Μέλη* (Oxford, 1927), pp. xxviii-xciv.

² On *ϝ*- in Homer cf. *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 43-56.

sound. Thus we find in Sappho γλῶσσα ἔαγε, φαίνεται οἱ,¹ and in Alcaeus πνεύμονα οἴνωι, ὑπο ἔργον (beside ἀμύστιδος ἔργον), λῦσ' ἄτερ ἔθεν (— ∪ — ∪ ∪); likewise the trace of the initial digamma is seen in Sappho's εἶπε, and in Alcaeus' ἀ]πνείπη[ι and ἐάνασσε, where the meter kept the unshortened form beside εἶπον and ἦλπ[in Sappho and εἶπε and ἦλπετο in Alcaeus. There are in the two poets some 33 places where an initial digamma would spoil the meter.

The keeping of *φρ*- in some form which is noted in our manuscripts as *βρ*- (Sappho βρόδον, βράδινος, βράκεα) — how it was sounded is doubtful — was a poetic device to keep for these words the power of lengthening the foregoing syllable. Had such a treatment ever been a part of the spoken language the poets would have used it when the second element of a word began originally with **φρ*-, and Herodian would have quoted from Lesbian poetry *ἑβράγη and *ἄβρηκτος (*ἑ-φράγη, *ἄ-φρηκτος), and not εὐράγη and αὔρηκτος, as he did. These two forms are beyond doubt, because they show the treatment which the spoken language gave to the group vowel-digamma-consonant-vowel, as in δέω (*δέφσω), ναῦος (*νᾶφσος), and Εὐρυσίλαος (*Ε-φρυσί-λαφος) of the inscriptions. Nevertheless such forms as εὐράγη and αὔρηκτος could never have been a part of the spoken language, since -*φρ*- would then have been treated as an initial and not an intervocalic sound-group, and they would have become *ἑράγη and *ἄρηκτος. Εὐράγη and αὔρηκτος can only be understood as poetic forms made to keep the metrical value of *ἑφράγη and *ἄφρηκτος. The following forms in Homer show this Lesbian treatment of the digamma: δέω beside Ionic δέι; χεύω, ἔχευαν, etc., beside Ionic χέει, ἔχεαν, etc., ἀπούρας (*ἀπόφρας), ἀπηύρας (*ἄπεφρας), ταλαύρινος (*ταλάφρινος), καλαῦροψ (*κάλαφροψ). A like treatment was given in Aeolic to the group vowel-consonant-digamma-vowel. Εὔαδε (from *ἑσφαδε) is cited by Choeroboscus as

¹ The reading of a papyrus fragment of Sappho (Lobel *ā* 3, 6) is without value, since antiquity, no less than our own times, had its grammarians who, failing to understand the hiatus, wished to restore the digamma, e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus, who quotes λῦσαι ἄτερ *φ*έθεν to show that the third personal pronoun began with a digamma. Likewise John the Grammarian (Hoffman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 217) states that the Lesbians wrote *φοῖνον*, but Aulus Gellius wrote the quotation from Alcaeus πνεύμονα οἴνωι, while others emended πνεύμονα to πνεύμονας. Balbilla has no more authority than the grammarians.

Aeolic. Homer has *εὔαδε* beside *ἄδε*, *αὔιαχοι* (**ἄσφίαχοι*),¹ *αὔερύντα* (**ἄνφερύοντα*). Of these words *ἀπούρας*, *ἀπηύρας*, *ταλαύρινος*, *καλαῦροψ*, *εὔαδε*, *αὔιαχοι*, *αὔερύντα*, could have come only from the poetry of the Aeolians of Asia Minor. They are the proof that the Aeolic in Homer was brought into the Ionic epic from the Lesbian epic language at a time when spoken Lesbian had lost the digamma.² Likewise poetic and Lesbian is the treatment of a short vowel followed by digamma when the short vowel is followed by two more short syllables. The glossographers quote as Lesbian *κανάλεον*, *φανόφοροι*, etc.; the same treatment is seen in Homer's *ἀλευόμενοι*, etc., beside *ἀλέοντο*, etc. To this same source belongs the artificial treatment of intervocalic *-δφ-* as *-δδ-* in *ἔδδειςας*, *ἔδδεισεν*, etc.³

There is no sure case of a form borrowed by the Lesbian singers from some other Aeolic dialect: wherever the Aeolic form in Homer differs from that of the Lesbian inscriptions the form may be archaic Lesbian. Yet the readiness with which the Ionic singers took over the Aeolic forms would rather point to just such an exchange between the Aeolic groups before the migration to Asia Minor. The Lesbian lyric language offers the same difficulty of deciding between forms which are Thessalian or Boeotian but might also be archaic Lesbian; nor is the source of the non-Aeolic forms always altogether sure. *Ἄελιος*, *δῶμα*, *ἔσκεθον*, *ἱερος*, and *πτόλις*, however, are Arcado-Cyprian and not Ionic; moreover, the non-Aeolic endings of the dative *-οις* and *-αις*, which are the only ones found in Arcado-Cyprian inscriptions, are later in Ionic than *-οισι*, *-ηισι*, which were not altogether supplanted until well into the fourth century. N-movable, which is generally classed as an Ionic trait, is nevertheless found in the dative plural of consonant stems in Thessalian and in verb-forms in some Cyprian inscriptions. There is thus nothing to show that the foreign element of the Lesbian lyric language was not drawn wholly from Arcado-Cyprian. This is a point to remember when we seek for forms in Homer

¹ That *ιάχω* began with a double consonant is proved by 23 cases where the word makes position after a short final vowel, e. g. *σμερδάλεα ιάχων*, 8 times.

² Lesbian is used here, of course, in the sense which it bears as a linguistic term.

³ I shall discuss more fully in another article the traces of the digamma in Aeolic and Ionic verse.

which could only be Ionic: if the form is also Arcado-Cyprian, we must grant that it may have been a part of the Lesbian epic language.

The Artificial Element

There are in the Homeric language a number of artificial forms which can be understood only as Aeolisms which were changed by Ionic singers to forms nearer those of their spoken language, though they could not make them altogether Ionic. The change in each case was brought about by a purely oral process. Thus the Lesbian poems which the Ionic singers learned had in them a number of perfect active participles in -ων, -οντος. Where the forms of the Ionic participle had the same metrical value these were put in their place, save in a few words where the Aeolic ending and the meaning of the word led the Ionic singers to mistake the forms for presents, as in *κεκλήγοντας, τετρίγοντας*.¹ Usually, however, the Ionic singers, when the forms of the two dialects were metrically different, were drawn by their habit of using different endings for the present and perfect to the endings -ότος, -ότι, which the rhythm forced them to lengthen to -ῶτος, -ῶτι. Thus we find *τεθνηῶτα* beside *τεθνηότος, πεπτηῶτες* beside *πεπτηότα, κεκμηῶτα* beside *κεκμηότας*, etc. This same struggle of the Ionic singer between the foreign form and the habit of his daily speech is likewise the source of *έήνδανε*. He had heard on the one hand the Aeolic poetic **εἰάνδανε*, but all the usage of his speech tended to *ήνδανε*, so that, speaking the two forms as it were at once, he made *έήνδανε*. This form, it should be noted, shows that the initial digamma had been lost in Ionic.

The so-called "distracted" forms were the work of singers who, torn between their desire to keep the metrical value of the genuine uncontracted forms on the one hand, and their habits of daily speech on the other, in which they used the contracted forms, made such artificial forms as *μνωόμενοι, ὀρώω, ὀρόωντες, δρώωσι*, etc. Thus the poet who had heard *μνᾶόμενοι* in verse, but said *μνώμενοι* in talk, would tend to begin the word with *μνω-*, whereupon the rhythm would force him to

¹ *Κεκλήγοντες* was a variant reading of Aristarchus at ξ 30, and is also found as a variant reading at μ 256, Μ 125, ΙΙ 430. It is found in all the manuscripts at P 756 and 759. At B 314 Zenodotus read *τιτίζοντας*, which can only be an attempt to Ionize *τετρίγοντας*.

keep without change the latter part of the poetic form and make *μνωόμενοι*. When faced with a verb of the Aeolic *-ᾶω* conjugation, such as *ἡβᾶωσα*, where he would usually say *ἡβῶσα*, he would be drawn into using the first two syllables of the spoken word *ἡβω-*, and then when forced by the rhythm to supply two more syllables would use the ending of the spoken word *-ωσα*, thus using the *ω* twice and making *ἡβῶωσα*. When faced with the poetic *ὀράω* beside the spoken *ὀρῶ* the singer would be drawn to the spoken form, but the rhythm would force him to shorten the *ω*-syllable to *ο*, which would be felt only as a poetic sound to fill in the verse until the real last syllable could be given, making *ὀρόω*. The same thing happened in certain nouns: *φᾶος*, where the spoken form was *φῶς*, became *φῶως*; *πρᾶνες*, where the spoken form was *πρῶνες*, became *πρώονες*; *σᾶος*, where the spoken form was *σῶς*, became *σόος*; etc. Another way in which the uncontracted forms were brought nearer to the usual contracted forms was by lengthening a short root-vowel and making *τρῶπᾶσθε* from *τροπάεσθε*, *πῶτῶντο* from *ποτάοντο*, etc. That this change was a purely oral process is shown by the fact that when the root had an *α* there was a tendency to keep the genuine uncontracted forms, as in *ἀοιδιάει* (the voice repeating in *-άει* the movement of *ἀοι-*), *κραδάων*, *ναιετάουσι*, etc.

A like oral creation of artificial forms is found in such forms as *Ἰλῖτον*, *ἀγρῖτον*, *ὀμοῖτον*, *ῥου*, etc., found always before a double consonant, which can have come only from **Ἰλῖοο*, **ἀγρῖοο*, **ὀμοῖοο*, **ῥοο*, etc. In another case the loss of the ending **-οο* led to the making of the poetic form *ὀκρυόεις* in the phrases *ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος* (I 64) and *κακομήχανου ὀκρυόεσσης* (Z 344) for **ἐπιδημῖοο κρυόεντος* and **κακομηχάνοο κρυόεσσης*. Van Leeuwen is doubtless right in thinking the poets were guided by the model of the adjective *ὀκριόεις*,¹ but of far more weight in each instance was the need of keeping the formula, and wherever the former presence of the **-οο* ending is found there is a marked formulaic device. Thus the form *Ἰλίου* is found only in the phrase *Ἰλίου προπάροιθε* (3 times); *ῥου* is found only in a special type of clause, *ῥου κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται* (B 325, *Hymn to Apollo* 156), *ῥου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον* (α 70). *Ὀμοίου*, which is found only in the phrase *ὀμοίου πολέμοιο* for **ὀμοῖοο πτολέμοιο*, is used six times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*, and

¹ *Enchiridium dictionis epicac*², (Lugduni Batavorum, 1908), p. 169 n. c.

here the Arcado-Cyprian *πτόλεμος* might show that the ending *-oo belonged to the Arcado-Cyprian poetic language. But we cannot be sure, since a Lesbian poet might have used the foreign *πτόλεμος* in a new phrase.¹ But whether *-oo is the original of Arcado-Cyprian -ω, or a middle stage between Aeolic -οιο and -ω, the creation of the artificial forms in question can have been due only to singers who had to keep the formulas.

Equivalent Aeolic Forms

It is likewise only the theory of oral verse-making which can show why certain Aeolic forms were kept when an Ionic form might have been used. In at least one case it was only because there was no such form in Ionic: *θεᾶ* was kept because Ionic used *θεός* for both masculine and feminine. But usually the Aeolic form was kept for less simple reasons, which could be only those of a poet who was drawn more towards the foreign form he found in poetry than towards the form which was habitual with him in his daily speech. An equivalent Aeolic form might be kept for one or more of the following reasons: the form was used along with other words, so that the poet felt the group as a unit and sought to change none of its parts; the form was known to him more from poetry than from speech, so that the habit of the poetic language was greater than that of his spoken language; the syntax of the form was foreign, and thus set it apart from the current form.

Aeolic *αι* for Ionic *ει* is regularly found in the phrases *αι κε*, *αι γάρ*, and *αιθε*. In the phrase *αι κε* it has been kept because of the foreign *κε* with which it was felt more or less as a single word, like *ην* for *ει αν*. So soon as a single word is put between *αι* and *κε*, however, the motive for keeping the Aeolic form is lost and we have *ει δε κε*, *ει μὲν κεν*, *ει γάρ κεν*, etc. The use of *αι γάρ*, and its metrical variant *αιθε*, is foreign to Ionic speech, being found only in Ionic and Attic prose in highly emotional passages where the author meaningfully assumes the tone of poetry.

'Ερι-, which seems to have come first from Arcado-Cyprian,² tended in the Ionic vocalization to become *არი-*. The form *ερι-* was kept in

¹ A Thessalian inscription gives *οι τολιαρχοντες*.

² Cf. p. 26 n. 3.

certain fixed phrases: e.g. ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι (5 times); ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι (22 times); ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἱηρης (7 times); ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα (5 times); ἐρικυδέα δῶρα (twice); ἐρικυδέα τέκνα (once).¹ It was these formulas that kept the prefix, but it was kept unchanged for another reason: where the radical of the word is a noun ἐρι- is used, while ἀρι- was brought in where the radical is a verb or adjective and thus properly calls for an adverbial prefix. Thus we find ἐριβῶλαξ, ἐρίγδουπος, ἐρικυδής, ἐρίμυκος, ἐρισθενής, ἐριστάφυλος, ἐρίτιμος, ἐρίωπος, but ἀρίγνωτος, ἀριδείκετος, ἀρίζηλος, ἀριπρεπής, ἀριφραδής, ἀρισφαλής. In ἐριούνιος and ἐρίηρος the meaning of the radical is so vague that the prefix is scarce felt as such, and in ἐριθηλής it was the poetic θηλ-, for the prosaic θαλλ-, which kept the whole poetic word unchanged.

There is no need, if we would understand why λαός was not changed to *ληός whereas νᾶος became νηός, to argue that there was no word λεώς in Ionic. Indeed two names in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* prove an Ionic λεώς: Λειώκριτος and Λειώδης are artificial forms which have been made from *Λαόκριτος and *Λαώδης (*Λαφογάδης) after the spoken *Λεώκριτος and *Λεώδης. 'Αγέλεως in τοῖς δ' 'Αγέλεως μετέειπε (χ 131, 247), where the Aeolic would be *τοῖς δ' 'Αγέλαος ἔειπε, shows that there must have been many names of this type in early Ionic (cf. 'Αναξίλεος, 'Αρχέλεος, Θερσίλεω, λεώφορον, of the Ionic inscriptions), for the form ἔειπε was common enough in the Homeric poetic language and 'Αγέλαος is found in other verses where the change would not have been so simple. The foreign λαός was kept simply because it was more common in poetry than λεώς was in speech, so that the singers were more habituated to the poetic than to the prosaic word. Each time a singer met νᾶος in verse he would tend to modify it in the direction of the spoken νεώς. But λαός, which figured in so many poetic phrases — ποιμένα λαῶν (56 times), κοίρανε λαῶν (11 times), λαὸν 'Αχαιῶν (19 times), etc., in the epithet of gods λαόσσοος (6 times), in heroic names — and was moreover a word which by its meaning had a special dignity, won a place for itself far beyond the reach of λεώς. Where on the contrary a word had no such special place in the poetic language, but differed only in form from the common prose word, the singers would be drawn to the current form. Thus ᾄος and τᾷος became ἔως and τέως, contrary to the usual laws of

¹ Cf. K. Witte in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Homeros, col. 2121.

the heroic meter.¹ It is wrong, however, in the case either of these words or of the words which make hiatus through a lost digamma, or in such phrases as ἡμεῖς δὲ δέισαντες, μάλα δὴν, σμερδάλεα ἰάχοντες, to speak of metrical faults, for these irregularities of the rhythm are constant and accepted, and so are rightly to be felt as the correct rhythmic usage.

The Aeolic form φηρ- wherever it was used in the common sense of "hunting" or "game" appears as θηρ- in Ionic (θήρη, θήρ etc.), but when the word was used of the Centaurs the Ionic singers very naturally failed to translate the word into their own dialect, but left it to be a proper name, Φῆρες, 'the Beasts,' and so we find it in A 268, B 743.

Ἑρμείας was kept beside Ἑρμῆς, though Ἀθηναία became Ἀθηναίη, and Πεία became Πείη, because the non-Ionic ending -ειᾶς was well fixed in other heroic names such as Αἰνείας and Αὐγείας. Ναυσικάα and Φεία were not changed because the names were not Ionic.

Πίσυρες kept its initial consonant because the whole word differed in form from τέσσαρες. Ἑρεβεννός and ἀργεννός were unchanged because there was no like word in -εινός in Ionic.

The Ionic Element

We may now turn to the forms of the Homeric language which are Ionic.

The greater number of sounds and forms which are Ionic and not Aeolic are metrically equal to the Aeolic sounds and forms. They can in no way be looked on as an Ionic addition to the traditional diction, but are the work of Ionic singers changing the Aeolic epic language to suit the habit of their own speech. Thus, save for the few unusual forms just noted, Homer has η where Aeolic kept original ā; εῦ from εο where Aeolic had εο; ῆν for Aeolic ῆς; -ου, -ους, -ᾶς, -εῶ, -εῶν, in

¹ The overwhelming reading of the manuscripts is ξωσ where the scansion should be — ∪, and εἴωσ where it is — —. Εἴωσ is an artificial form made by lengthening ξωσ under the force of the rhythm. There is no real grounds for the *ῆος with which, as with the ϝ, some modern editors have disfigured their texts. Here, as elsewhere, the seeming vagaries of the manuscript tradition accord with the processes of oral poetry and thus bear witness to their faithfulness.

the noun where Aeolic has -ω, -οις, -αις, -ᾶ, -ᾶν; -ειν, -ουσι, -ουσα, in the verb where Aeolic has -ην, -ωσι, -οισα; φᾶσί, Μοῦσα, ξείνος, εἰμί, ἕτερος, θάρσος, etc., where Aeolic has φαῖσι, Μοῖσα, ξένος, ἔμμι, ἄτερος, θέρσος, etc. Each one of these sounds and forms is a sign of the thorough Ionization of the traditional epic diction.

A number of Homeric forms which are Ionic and not Aeolic are found in the Lesbian lyric language. Some of these are also found in Arcado-Cyprian, which seems to be their source. These forms are: the noun-endings -οις, -αις, -σι; the first aorist in -σ-; the perfect participle in -ώς, -ότες; μέσος, ὅσος, etc.; and ν-movable in verb-forms.

The non-thematic infinitive in -ναι is not found in the remains of Lesbian poetry, but was used in Arcado-Cyprian (Arcadian ἀπειθῆναι, ἦναι, ἐξῆναι). We are thus unable to say surely that these infinitives are an Ionic addition to the Homeric language. Likewise we are unable to claim an Ionic source for ᾄν in Homer. Cyprian has κε, but Arcadian has ᾄν, and for εἰ followed by ᾄν it has εἰ κ' ᾄν; in one case in Arcadian we find εἰ κ' used without ᾄν followed by the subjunctive.¹ The tendency in Aeolic would have been to change ᾄν in Arcado-Cyprian formulas to κε(ν), as it was in Ionic to change Aeolic κε(ν) to ᾄν. There are in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* some 43 out of 156 cases where ᾄν cannot be changed to κε(ν), and some 747 cases of κε(ν), but even this small portion of sure cases of ᾄν may have come over from the Lesbian epic.

The Lesbian lyric language also has the artificial (or Arcado-Cyprian?) ᾄμμεσιν, which is metrically equal to ἡμῖν scanned $\underline{\quad} \text{—}$, and ᾄμμες,² which can usually take the place of the Ionic accusative ἡμέας. Εο in Lesbian poetry can be scanned as a single syllable, and is thus the equal of Ionic ευ (Lesbian βέλεος scanned $\cup \text{—}$). Synizesis of ε with a diphthong, and so we may suppose with a long vowel, is common to Ionic, Aeolic, and Arcado-Cyprian verse (Lesbian θέοις', ἀργάλεαι, Cyprian θεοῖς, 144, 2 in Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76).³

¹ 29, 21 in Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 23.

² For the accusative ᾄμμες cf. Hesychius s. v.; *Etymologicum Gudanium* 45, 18.

³ -ατο, -αται, for -ντο, -νται, in the optative and certain non-thematic forms, are often called Ionic, but the ancient grammarians called the endings Aeolic (cf. Hoffmann, II, p. 568), and as it happens we have no inscriptional evidence for the third plural middle of the optative in either Aeolic or Arcado-Cyprian. Πολυκτήμων may

Once we have set aside the Ionisms cited in the foregoing paragraph we find that there are left almost no forms in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which have not equivalents in the Lesbian poetic language. We find *δοῦναι* twice at the end of the verse, beside three places within the verse where *δόμεναι* could be used just as well; but we lack evidence on this form for Arcadian which might have a form **δῶναι* (cf. Arcadian *θῆναι*).

Out of 25 uses of *ἔως* 23 call for the scansion of Aeolic *āos*; *ἔως* in P 727 is monosyllabic, leaving only B 78 where *ἔως* has a definitely Ionic scansion.

The Ionic forms of the first and second personal pronoun plural likewise give us almost no grounds for believing in Ionic changes in the diction. *ἄμμες* is found in Homer 37 times within the verse, and never where the Ionic form could take its place. On the other hand *ἡμεῖς*, in 73 of its 81 occurrences, could be replaced by *ἄμμες*, and of the 8 remaining cases 3 occur in the phrase *ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*, that is *ἄμμες (f) ἴδμεν*. Beside *ἄμμι* (18 times) *ἡμῖν* is used 72 times: in 55 of these cases *ἄμμιν* could be used instead, in 16 where *ἡμῖν* is used at the head of the verse before a vowel *ἄμμεσιν* could take its place, and the single remaining case is *ἡμῖν ἐκάεργον*, that is **ἄμμιν (f) ἐκάεργον*. The accusative *ἄμμε* is used 13 times, always within the verse, while *ἡμέας* appears 3 times at the verse end, which shows that the Ionic singers felt *ἡμέας* as disyllabic. Where *ἡμέας* is found elsewhere it is 8 times followed by a consonant, including one case of the digamma, so that the poetic Lesbian could just as well be used, leaving only 8 cases for which we have no Lesbian equivalent.

Out of 35 occurrences of *ὑμεῖς* there are only 4 where *ῥμμες* could not be used. Out of 38 occurrences of *ὑμῖν* there are only 5 where *ῥμμιν* could not take its place, and in 2 of these 5 places *ῥμμεσιν* could be read. Out of the 5 times that *ὑμέας* occurs, *ῥμμες* could be used in 3.

have taken the place of a *πολυπλάμων*. The third plural of the non-thematic aorist in *-σαν* is found in Cyprian (*κατέθισαν*, cf. *κατέθιζαν*); the ending *-σαν* is also used in Aeolic in the aorist passive. *-εων* is said to be disyllabic in three places (*πυλέων* H 1, M 340, *θυρέων* φ 191), but the Aeolic singers may have lengthened the *υ* in these words in the way that gives us *ῥδωρ* in Lesbian verse with both short and long *υ*. **Ιδῶ* in I 558 may be for **Ιδoo*.

There are thus only 21 verses of Homer where the meter seems to be warrant for the Ionic form of the personal pronouns: Γ 104 ἡμεῖς, Δ 246 ὑμεῖς, Η 194 ὑμεῖς, Ι 528 ὑμῖν, Ι 649 ὑμεῖς, Κ 211 ἡμέας, Λ 695 ἡμέας, Μ 223 ἡμεῖς, Ξ 369 ἡμεῖς, Ο 136 ἡμέας, Ψ 495 ὑμεῖς, α 76 ἡμεῖς, β 75 ὑμέας, 86 ἡμέας, 210 ὑμέας 244 ἡμέας, γ 81 ἡμεῖς, π 387 ὑμῖν, χ 264 ἡμέας, ψ 138 ἡμέας, 224 ἡμέας. Even these few cases, however, are not sure. The larger number of accusatives might point towards an artificial (or originally Arcado-Cyprian?) *ἄμμεας in Lesbian verse, and in some cases the metrical fault caused by using the Lesbian form might be like the numerous other faults we see resulting from the formulaic technique. For instance, *ἄμμες ὀτρυνώμεθ' in Ξ 369 might be due to the modification of a common *ἄμμες δ' ὀτρυνώμεθ'; cf. at the beginning of the verse ἡμεῖς δὲ φράζωμεν (Δ 14, Ρ 712).¹

5. CONCLUSIONS

We have seen in our study that both Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic singers had used the epic diction and left the mark of their language upon its words and phrases in such a way that we know the epic diction was more or less altogether their creation; whereas we have found only very slight traces of Ionic work besides the mere change in pronunciation. There are two possible conclusions, either that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we have them are, save for the Ionic pronunciation, the work of an Aeolic singer or singers, or that they are the work of an Ionic singer or singers who made their verses out of a traditional diction which had undergone almost no change from the time when the Ionians had learned it from the Aeolians.

The Theory of an Aeolic Homer Rejected

According to the first explanation, this Aeolic Homer would have lived at the moment when the oral poetry was most creative — for of course every oral poem has its moment of creation, however long it may have lived merely by recitation — and would have made his verses from an oral diction which was very ancient, which may even in some parts have gone back to the time before Greek broke up into the dialects in which we find it. But whatever may be the age of the diction,

¹ Cf. *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 17-42.

it had, in the period before Homer's time, been used and highly developed by Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic singers. Whether there was a period of mutual exchange between Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic, or whether Aeolic took over an Arcado-Cyprian tradition and greatly changed it, we cannot know. Homer would then have composed in this Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic diction, and his poems would have won such fame that his followers found their profit in merely reciting them. Now recitation is not the natural practice of oral poetry, which, as was seen above (pp. 15-17), is ever in a state of change, so that one must suppose the formation of a guild, not of singers, but of rhapsodes, who made their living by faithfully keeping and reciting the poems which Homer had composed as a singer. We must then suppose further that this guild was fixed in a city which in Homer's time was Aeolic but later became Ionic, so that the daily speech of the reciters changed from Aeolic to Ionic. This change in their spoken language would have brought about a change in their pronunciation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; while the tradition of their craft may have kept the poems line for line, they would have changed the sounds and forms to suit the habits of their speech in so far as that called for no change in the words of the line. Then finally, at some moment well along in the Ionic period of the city, when the Ionic speech had had time to Ionize completely the pronunciation of the poems, they would have been recorded in writing.

Simple as such a theory may seem, — Fick, who had not the notion of an oral poetic language, gave himself needless trouble, since he need almost never have changed more than the form of the single word ¹ — it is without any sound basis, and there is much to be said against it. First, such a close keeping of the words in a way quite foreign to the natural functioning of an oral diction must necessarily have made for a keeping of the older pronunciation; in any case the complete Ionization of the equivalent sounds and forms can be understood only by an utterly free handling of the diction by Ionian singers.

¹ It is impossible to build any theory of either multiple or single authorship on the basis of the language. Such attempts as that of Fick are based upon the purest of a priori's; e.g. he changed *ἡμέας αὐτοῦς* in Θ 529 to **ἄμμεας αὐτοῦς*, assuming that Aeolic had such a form, but in K 211 he claimed *ἡμέας ἔλθοι* as proof of an Ionic redaction.

Secondly, we must then suppose that all the poems of the epic cycle, the greater Homeric Hymns to Apollo, Aphrodite, and indeed all the fragments we have of the older poetry, had likewise been kept by some guild from the Aeolic period, with just the same change in their own speech from Aeolic to Ionic; for the language of these other poems, as their diction, differs in no point from that of Homer. In the case of the *Hymn to Apollo* one would have to reason most ingeniously about the lines wherein the man who sang it makes mention of his hearers and of himself:

Ἴλλὰ σὺ Δῆλῳ Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεται ἦτορ
 ὕθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται
 αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν.
 οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθῶνι καὶ αἰοιδῇ
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.
 φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ
 ὅς τοτ' ἐπαντιάσει' ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν.

Ἴλλ' ἄγεθ' ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
 χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι, ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
 μνήσασθ' ὀππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
 ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἑλθών·
 ᾧ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ἡδιστος αἰοιδῶν
 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέωι τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθε ἀφ' ἡμέων·
 τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκέϊ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσηι
 τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοδαί.
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἡμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν ὅσσον ἐπ' αἴαν
 ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας·
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.¹

¹ Vv. 146-152, 165-176. The great majority of the manuscripts read ὑποκρίνασθε in v. 171, which is correct, the metrical fault being a guarantee of the text (cf. *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, pp. 13-16). The reading ἀφ' ἡμέων of some nine manuscripts, instead of ἀφ' ὑμέων, which is given by the other manuscripts and modern editors, is exactly suited to the pride which oral poets everywhere have in their own skill; likewise the variant ἡμέτερον in v. 174 is to be preferred to ὑμέτερον. The variant reading was due to the feeling of the scribes—which has also been that of modern editors—that Homer could not have been so immodest.

Here we clearly have to do with a singer and no reciter; he is singing to Ionians; and he says that there are many other singers and that each of them has his own songs. One is forced to grant that this Hymn, in which we find the very same poetic language as in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was the work of an Ionian, in the diction common to all other heroic poets of his time, at a moment when the tradition of epic poetry was still that of creation and not of recitation.

The Theory of an Aeolic Diction Accepted

Moreover the theory of an Aeolic *Iliad* and *Odyssey* rests altogether on one supposition, which is false, namely that the ease with which the poems can be turned into Aeolic proves they must have been more or less entirely as they stand the work of an Aeolic poet: really it proves only that the formulaic diction was Aeolic. As was said above (p. 6), oral poetry is altogether made up of traditional formulas and series of formulas, each of which is an artifice for making the verse and the sentence. The singer has learned these formulas by hearing them in the mouths of older singers, and he makes his own poetry out of them from beginning to end, since the only way he can compose is by thinking in terms of the formulas. Thus while the poems of an oral poetry are ever each one of them in a never-ceasing state of change, the diction itself is fixed, and is passed on with little or no change from one generation of singers to another. This is why we find that even those Ionic words which in themselves are metrically different from the Aeolic words are used in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in such a way that the change to Aeolic is still possible: in each case the word is used in fixed formulas and types of formulas which are traditional artifices of verse-making. 'Ημεῖς, for example, can be changed to ἄμμες in 73 out of the 81 times it occurs, which could by no means be due to hazard, and could not happen in the verse of any poet who was making each verse out of his own new words. Homer, however, was using the word in fixed phrases; so we find ἡμεῖς δ(έ) 41 times as the device for beginning a sentence, and in 34 of these 41 it is a device for beginning the verse as well. 'Ημεῖς μὲν accounts for 9 other occurrences of the word, falling 8 times at the beginning of the verse. 'Αλλ' ἄγεθ' ἡμεῖς περ begins the verse twice. This, when we have set aside the 13 cases

of *ἡμεῖς* at the verse-end, leaves *ἡμεῖς* before a consonant in only 8 places where the phrase is not clearly fixed in the diction. It is of course largely hazard and the length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which bring it about that we can observe the use of a fixed phrase in a number of places and so analyze the technique of its use.

Ἡμεῖς δ(έ) is itself often used to make up longer formulas. One of the most needed artifices of the singer is that of ready phrases of different metrical values to join his sentences on to one another. Homer's technique of the conjunctive formula is vast and complex, and, as in the case of the epithet, easily permits analysis into systems of great length and great simplicity. One such series of formulas is that for expressing the essential idea *but we*: *ἡμεῖς* δ' (20 times), *ἡμεῖς* δέ (9 times), *ἡμεῖς* δ' αὖ (3 times), *ἡμεῖς* δ' αὖτ' (once), *ἡμεῖς* δ' αὖτε (3 times). Each of these phrases expresses the same essential idea but has a different metrical value. These formulas are then in turn used in other formulas. We find at the beginning of the verse *ἡμεῖς* δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες (N 785, ψ 127), *ἡμεῖς* δ' ἐσταότες θαυμάζομεν (B 320, Ω 394), *ἡμεῖς* δέ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως (Δ 14, Ξ 61, ψ 117). Twice we have the pair of verses

ἡμεῖς δ' οὐτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ' ἔμεν οὔτε πηι ἄλλῃ
πρὶν γ' αὐτὴν γήμασθαι Ἀχαιῶν ὦι κ' ἐθέλησι,

(β 127-128, σ 288-289). We have the system *ἡμεῖς* δέ δέισαντες (ι 236, 396), *ἡμεῖς* δέ κλαίοντες (ι 294), *ἡμεῖς* δέ ἰάχοντες (δ 454).¹ Among the nine uses of *ἡμεῖς* μὲν we find *ἡμεῖς* μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα διείπομεν (Δ 706, μ 16), *ἡμεῖς* μὲν γάρ (γ 262, 276).² Nor are the 13 cases of *ἡμεῖς* at the verse-end due wholly to chance: the word is regularly used there as a means of filling in the last foot of a verse in which the fifth foot has ended with -ομεν, -ομεν *ἡμεῖς*, making, as it were, merely a longer personal ending. Thus we find ἐπέφνομεν *ἡμεῖς* (K 478), εἵπομεν *ἡμεῖς*

¹ *Ἡμεῖς* δέ δέισαντες and *ἡμεῖς* δέ ἰάχοντες when δ'αὖ and δ'αὖτ', which in the heroic style are equal in meaning to the simple δέ, might have been used, show how keenly the singers felt the accepted irregularities as positive features of the epic versification. They are among the many Homeric phrases which bear witness to the oral nature of the diction at the same time that they prove the soundness of the traditional text.

² The repetition of a more or less uncommon formula at a short interval, as in the case of *ἡμεῖς* δέ δέισαντες and *ἡμεῖς* μὲν γάρ above, is a constant feature of the Homeric diction, and is another sign of its oral nature: a phrase or type of phrase

(α 37), κατελείπομεν ἡμεῖς (λ 53, 447), ἔκταμεν ἡμεῖς (μ 375), ἐπιέσσαμεν ἡμεῖς (ν 143). We also find ἡμεῖς at the end of the verse in the formulaic passage

οὐ γὰρ μοί ποτε βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἴσης
λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε, τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς,

(Δ 48-49, Ω 69-70). We are sometimes unable to analyze so exactly the artifice of verse-making which carries in itself the possibility of changing Ionic ἡμεῖς to Aeolic ἄμμες, but we may be sure, nevertheless, that it is only because the small remnant of Greek heroic poetry which we still have does not let us follow everywhere the vastly varied technique of the diction.

Such an analysis as we have just made for the use of ἡμεῖς in Homer could be made for any other form or word in the traditional diction which is used at all often, and since each form and word, save for the few Ionisms we have noted, is either Aeolic, or equal in metrical value to Aeolic, we should thus be analyzing an Aeolic technique of verse-making. There thus ceases to be anything surprising in the fact that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can be turned into Aeolic almost word for word: the formulaic diction was learned by the Ionians from the Aeolians, and though under the stress of habit of their own speech they made it Ionic wherever that could be done without harm to the technique of its use, they otherwise kept it almost without change, since the way in which verse is orally made forced them to do so. The few Ionic forms which we were able to point out above are, for all they are few and some of them doubtful, a precious proof that the Ionic singers had made at least some slight changes in the diction. Far from showing, by their rarity, that Homer could not have been an Ionian, they are, in view of the little change made in an oral diction from generation to generation, just about what one might look for in a tradition of Aeolic heroic poetry which was being carried on by Ionic singers.

will linger in the mind of the singer, and in the speed of his verse-making, where his thought largely follows for its expression the habitual vocal gestures of his poetic diction, it will come to the fore and be used again.

The History of the Greek Heroic Style

The study of the Homeric language has thus given us the outlines of the history of the heroic style. From a high antiquity it was carried on in the Greek peninsula by peoples who spoke Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic. Just what part each of these two peoples had in keeping and developing heroic poetry is not clear. If it was the work of Arcado-Cyprian singers, they must have made an ample use of Aeolic poetry with its Aeolic forms; if it was the work of Aeolic singers, they drew largely on Arcado-Cyprian words and phrases. A long period with mutual exchange of poetry seems most likely. Why the Ionians while in Greece proper had nothing to do, so far as we know, with the formation of this heroic diction, and why when they migrated to Asia they brought with them no heroic poetry, must remain matters for conjecture. It was only in Asia Minor that they met with peoples of Aeolic speech and learned from them to practice the epic. Just how they learned must likewise stay in doubt. The art of the Greek heroic poetry is so far above that of any other oral narrative verse that one might, perhaps, conclude that it was the work of a more highly professional class than that which usually practices oral poetry. In that case we might suppose, as others have, that Ionic heroic poetry was due to the tradition of poetry in some city or cities where the speech of the people had once been Aeolic, and then, because of their defeat at the hands of Ionians, Ionic. However that may be, the new way of life which the Ionians took up in their new land gave a great impulse to the practice of their new poetry, and brought forth all the countless poems which were heard and forgotten, as well as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Here again we are in doubt. Were the two poems put in writing during the lifetime of their author, and kept by some group who recited them? Or were they kept by some such guild of reciters as that which was described above? Or were they passed in manuscript among many singers who, while they still practiced creative oral poetry, found this way of getting for their repertory the poems which had the greatest fame? ¹ One thing is plain: our manuscripts cannot

¹ Murko (*La poésie épique en Yougoslavie*, pp. 12-13) describes such a state of poetry, half oral, half written, as is conceivable in a general way for the preserva-

all go back to a manuscript of Homer's time; for their variant readings, while some are due to copyists, are for the greater part the variants of an oral tradition, which means that the manuscripts which the Alexandrians used came from different oral traditions.

Nor, because of any evidence which the language gives us, may we say that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are single poems, nor show how the singer, or singers, of the poems have put smaller poems and whole passages together. The answer to these problems is not to be found in the language, which, like the diction of which it was a part, merely shows that the whole of the two poems, with perhaps a few rare verses excepted, are the work of one or a number of Ionic singers using, at about the same time, the same traditional style, which was itself an Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic creation. For on the one hand the same diction is common to all singers, and on the other its tradition is so conservative that even the complete unity of language which we find in the poems and in some of the *Homeric Hymns* might have been kept over a fairly long period. To prove that there were one or many poets, and to show what passages were taken whole from the tradition and which were made anew out of single formulas or verses, we must turn to the study of other oral poetries where the processes of composition can be studied in actual practice and in a greater body of poetry than we have for the Greek epic. When, by the exact analysis of oral poems in reference to their tradition, we have grasped in detail just how the oral poet works, and what it is that makes a poem good or bad in the judgment of himself and his hearers, we shall then, but only then, be able to undertake to study the authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and to try to apportion that which is due to the tradition and that which is due to the author.

tion of the Homeric poems: "Janko Ceramić, âgé de 68 ans, m'a assuré qu'il pouvait répéter le lendemain toute chanson entendue la veille au soir. Cependant, les chants de la poésie dite orale ou traditionnelle ne sont pas toujours transmis de bouche en bouche; ils sont très souvent, et de plus en plus, pris dans des livres et des brochurés, et cela même en Herzégovine, terre classique du chant épique. . . . Le chanteur qui apprend un chant qu'on lui lit doit se le faire répéter plusieurs fois pour le savoir."

[*Editors' note:* For the convenience of the reader there is appended (pp. 48-50) an index of Greek words and forms discussed in this article.]

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THE METRICAL LIVES OF ST. MARTIN OF TOURS
BY PAULINUS AND FORTUNATUS AND THE
PROSE LIFE BY SULPICIUS SEVERUS

By ALSTON HURD CHASE

FEW Saints in the calendar have enjoyed a devotion so deep and so long-enduring as St. Martin of Tours. The story of his kind and manly life was first told in the pleasant, not inelegant prose of Sulpicius Severus, shortly after the death of the Saint, toward the end of the fourth century A.D.¹ The work gained immediate and widespread popularity, and in the course of the next two hundred years was twice subjected to a metrical transformation, first at the hands of Paulinus of Périgueux, who wished to be, and later at the hands of Fortunatus, who was, a poet.

The manuscripts of Sulpicius Severus are marked by a division into two families — a French and an Italian, although one manuscript, the *Dublinensis*, which is part of the Book of Armagh, hovers between the two families in its readings. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the two metrical lives, in respect (*a*) to their sources and (*b*) to their evidence on certain passages where the manuscript readings in the prose life by Sulpicius disagree widely. We must, however, first know something concerning the lives of the authors of the metrical versions.

Few biographies are so scanty, few traditions so brief and definite, that the chronicler cannot bring them into confusion and the philologist into controversy. Even Paulinus of Périgueux, although his life story is of that brevity and simplicity to which only the poor or the pious can hope to attain, did not escape the confusion incident upon the unwise choice of a name already rendered illustrious by the achievements of a greater man. Perhaps even his humility would have rebelled at the attribution of his great work (for so, despite his protestations, I think he considered it) to the pen of Paulinus of Nola. This error persisted from the time of Gregory of Tours to that of the learned

¹ Cf. E. K. Rand, *St. Martin of Tours* (Aberdeen, *The University Press*, 1927); reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1927).

Juretus, although it was not accepted by all, as the manuscripts bear witness. Moreover, the very explanation which Paulinus himself gives of the inception of his poem has been variously interpreted by scholars. The question has been carefully examined by A. Huber in his study of the metrical version of the life of St. Martin. To his theory I shall return below.

Our knowledge of the life of Paulinus is wholly derived from his own works. Even the separation of his identity from that of Paulinus of Nola rests mainly upon the titles of the manuscripts. That he was bishop of Périgueux is inferred from the fact that he mentions employing the services of a deacon, a privilege at that time confined to bishops.¹ He was a contemporary of Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours, to whom he addressed the two prose epistles which precede his *Life* of St. Martin and two brief minor poems as well. The episcopate of Perpetuus is placed by Duchesne between 461 and 491.² The church of St. Martin at Tours, for which the short poem *De Orantibus* is an inscription, had not reached completion when the prologue to the minor poems was composed. We know that the church was finished in 473. Paulinus must, therefore, have been writing during the seventh decade of the fifth century.

We have now come to the point over which some disagreement has arisen. In one of the manuscripts alone, the *Reginensis*, of the ninth or tenth century according to Petschenig, the Vienna editor, there is preserved a prose prologue to the *Vita*. In this prologue, after the customary expressions of humility, we find the following significant sentences:

De sancti atque apostolici doctoris et domini meritis atque virtutibus tam splendidam ad nos misistis historiam ut rectissime, si ita iussisset vestra benedictio, ad totius orbis notitiam perveniret. verum his me inhaerere vestigiis et posse aliquid adicere quasi expolitius censuistis, cum multo maius sit conperta promere quam prolata transcribere.

These words are addressed to Perpetuus of Tours. There follows

¹ Cf. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Vol. IV, pt. ii (Munich, 1920), p. 377; *Prologus* to the *Carmina Minora*.

² L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, second edition (Paris, 1910), II, p. 304.

more assumed Christian humility, of which Paulinus had perhaps more than his due share, and then we again find words of interest:

Utamur vestri definitione mandati,¹ usurpate quod vestrum est, qui me ut scitis, obnoxium hac electione perfecistis. Cum in manus vestras charta pervenerit, fovete quod sumitis, excusate inperitiam, exorate clementiam; ignoscat usurpationi, oppituletur peccanti, succurrat errori. indignum fuit ut gesta tam grandia auderemus attingere, sed adrogantius fuerat mandata contemnere.

In addition to these words from the First Prologue, I will quote from the Second Prologue, which accompanies the minor poems:

... ego conscientia perurgente credideram etiam hoc fuisse nimium, quod potueras notare temerarium, ut ad illam virtutum tam perspicuam claritatem quasi inluminandus accederem, lucemque tam claram tenebrarum mearum nube restringerem.

Two passages, one from the introduction to the fourth book of the *Vita*, and one from the introduction to the sixth book, seem to me to deserve quotation before I begin my discussion of the opposing theories in regard to the composition of the poem:

Finierat sumptum translatio coepta volumen,
percurrrens sancti pura exemplaria libri,
cum subito oblata est abstrusae gloria nobis
historiae, nostri stimulans molimina voti;
non ut de misero melius claresceret ore,
quod tam perspicui signasset pagina cordis,
cum vis verborum viva virtute coruscans
perderet ingenitum metro mollita vigorem.
sed quia non omnes liquidi penetralia fontis
interius scrutanda petunt, pars magna patentes
saepe bibit propius neglecto frigore rivos,
nos quoque, qui dignum nil possumus edere doctis,
turbida non longe porgemus pocula pigris.
(IV, 1-13)

This passage marks the transition from that portion of the poem (Books I-III) which is derived from the *Vita* of Sulpicius to Books IV and V, which are based upon the *Dialogues*. The sixth book deals with those miracles which took place at the tomb of St. Martin after his

¹ Punctuating with a comma instead of a full stop.

death. Shortly after the opening of Book VI there occur the following lines:

Quinque prius recolens signavi gesta libellis,
de multis vel pauca legens. quota portio nobis
conperta e tantis titulis? quid contigit unus?
exiguum quanta pensat mercede laborem!
indigno rursum tempto praeconia sensu:
tanta sinus fert vota rei bonitate patroni. . . .
nam certum est iussisse ipsum quae missus ab illo
interpres temptanda putat.

(VI, 13-18, 25-26)

The natural interpretation of the prologue to the whole poem, as we find it in *R*, is that Perpetuus has sent to Paulinus an account of the life and miracles of St. Martin, with the request that he make a metrical version of the narrative. Together with the older stories of the Saint's life he has sent a pamphlet of his own on the miracles which had occurred at the shrine at Tours.¹

Huber, however, has a different theory, supported in part by Ebert and by Manitius's later and somewhat modified opinion.² His conclusions may be summarized as follows: ³

(1) Paulinus composed the first five books of the *Vita* before he had had any intercourse whatever with Perpetuus.

(2) The reading of Books I-V of the *Vita* brought Paulinus to the attention of Perpetuus, who thereupon sent him a copy of his own account of the miracles at the tomb of the Saint. This account Paulinus was to turn into verse as a sequel to his treatment of the life of the patron of Tours. When Paulinus had finished his task, he sent the sixth book, as we now possess it, to Perpetuus, together with a letter

¹ *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1735), II, pp. 470-471. M. Manitius, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, V (1888), Sp. 1133. W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, 6. Auflage (Berlin, 1913), 474, 3.

² A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, 2. Auflage (Leipzig, 1889), I, p. 403. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 226. The opinions of Schanz, *op. cit.*, IV, ii, p. 376 seem to be based upon Huber's theory.

³ A. Huber, *Die poetische Bearbeitung der Vita S. Martini des Sulpicii Severus durch Paulinus von Périgueux* (Progr., Kempten, 1901), pp. 15-20.

which now stands as a prologue to the entire work. This prologue refers, therefore, to the sixth book alone, and is out of place in *R*.

The arguments upon which Huber bases his conclusions are, briefly, the following:

(1) The *splendida historia* of the Prologue cannot possibly refer to the *Vita* of Sulpicius, for this was already so well known (cf. *Dialogue* I, xxiii, 3-7) that there would be little reason to speak of the work as deserving "ut ad totius orbis notitiam perveniret," since such was already the case.

(2) Certain similarities in phrasing show that Paulinus had read Sulpicius's *Chronicles*, though he does not refer to them in the Prologue. He must, therefore, have had a copy of them, and, *a fortiori*, of the *Vita*.

(3) Paulinus would never have spoken in the First Prologue of his contemplated work as a *charta* had he meant the whole six books of the poem. In the Second Prologue, that to the minor poems, he would never have referred to the work sent him by Perpetuus as a *charta* had he meant the entire corpus of Sulpicius's works on St. Martin. (Cf. *De Visitatione Nepotuli Sui*, 32-38.) For *charta* can mean only a single roll, whereas the size of the works mentioned precludes their inclusion in one such roll.

(4) Paulinus makes no mention of Perpetuus in the first five books, but speaks of him again and again in the sixth, which shows that the first five books were composed independently, and that the sixth book alone is the result of his aid and encouragement.

The acceptance of these arguments involves the rejection of the testimony of *R*, which Petschenig regards as by far the best of the manuscripts of Paulinus. Moreover, it necessitates an elaborate and rather forced explanation of what seems a very simple matter. Let us examine Huber's arguments closely, and see whether after all we may retain the position of the First Prologue as found in *R*.

(1) I do not believe that Paulinus, although he was aware that the *Vita* by Sulpicius was well known, would on that account be prevented from using the phrase "ut ad totius orbis notitiam perveniret." Perpetuus was, indeed, at the time engaged upon a sort of campaign for the glorification of St. Martin. The great church at Tours was then building, and I cannot think anything more natural than that he should desire

to have an elegant poetical version of the *Vita* of Sulpicius produced. A copy of a newly revised Tours text of Sulpicius may have been sent to Paulinus to serve as the basis of his poem, and it is to that, in all probability, that Paulinus refers as a *splendida historia*, a phrase which seems to me much more appropriate to the life of the Saint than to the list of the miracles performed at his tomb. (Cf. IV, 246, 495; V, 484.) Proof of the existence of this newly revised text will be furnished later. The phrase "his me inhaerere vestigiis et posse aliquid adicere quasi expolitius" which is quoted by Huber in support of his theory seems as much, if not more, capable of supporting the theory accepted before him, since *his vestigiis* might well refer to the new Tours revision, *aliquid expolitius* to the poetical version.

(2) Even if Paulinus knew the *Chronicles* or even the older version of the *Vita*, it is not impossible that he might feel called upon to express his thanks for a new and carefully revised version of the *Vita*.

(3) In the days of Paulinus the *codex*, which lends itself to far longer works than the roll, was in general use. The following passages may be cited as examples of the use of *charta* in the general sense of 'book':

nam et in usu plerique libros chartas appellant (Ulpian, *Digesta*, 32, 52, 4); *quod nullae chartae veterum, nulli librorum annales* (Ennodius, *Opusc.* III, ed. Hartel, p. 360, 11-12, Vienna, 1882); *quamquam igitur impiissimis eorum blasphemias plenae omnes ecclesiarum chartae, plenique iam libri sint* (Hilary, *Contra Auxentium*, vii).

(4) The fact that Paulinus does not mention Perpetuus in the first five books, and then turns to him so eagerly at the beginning of the sixth, seems to me quite capable of explanation on other grounds than those taken by Huber. The last book of the poem makes special mention of Perpetuus for the very good and sufficient reason that it is based wholly upon a work composed by him and sent to Paulinus with the request that he turn it into verse. This is what Huber contends, of course, but there is this difference between his view and mine, that he thinks that *only* Book VI was composed at the request of Paulinus, whereas I think that the entire poem was of similar inception.

It seems to me that a more satisfactory explanation of the origin of the work of Paulinus is the following: Perpetuus, in his desire to aid the growth of the cult of St. Martin, sent to Paulinus first of all a copy of the *Vita* of Sulpicius, in the new Tours revision, with the request that

he produce a metrical version. Paulinus had already come to the notice of Perpetuus in some manner unknown to us — perhaps as an amateur poet. Paulinus wrote the first three books of the poem, and perhaps composed the First Prologue as an introduction and dedication. Then some one, in all probability Perpetuus, sent him a copy of the *Dialogues*, as he explains at the opening of Book IV, in the passage which I have quoted above (p. 53). No further reference to Perpetuus was necessary, because of the message to him in the Prologue. Then, last of all, Perpetuus sent him his own work on the miracles at the shrine of the Saint, with the request that he add a metrical account of them as a sixth book. This is the occasion for the lines which I have quoted above from Book VI, which are full of Paulinus's oppressive politeness. The preface originally written for the first portion of the work was quite naturally retained for the enlarged later edition, if we may so speak of it. This is a much more natural explanation, in my opinion, since it vindicates *R*, affords a very fitting prologue to the work, without which the opening of the first book is somewhat abrupt, and accounts for the division of the work as we have it indicated in the passages to which I have referred. Indeed, the ascription of the Prologue to the sixth book seems to me particularly unnecessary, since that book has an extensive introduction in verse, which renders a prose preface superfluous.

We may now turn to the second of our poems, the *Vita Sancti Martini* of Venantius Fortunatus.¹ The poet, whose full name was Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, was born near Treviso in northern Italy, about 530 A.D., but spent the greater part of his life as a sort of troubadour in France. Among the prominent men with whom he was intimate was the great bishop, Gregory of Tours. Gregory requested the poet to make a metrical version not only of the works of Sulpicius Severus on the life of St. Martin, but also of the Bishop's own four books *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini*. The four books on the life of St. Martin are all that remain to us. These were composed before Gregory wrote his own work, as is shown by Gregory's words in the *De Virtutibus*, I, 2: "... sed et Fortunatus presbyter omne opus vitae

¹ Cf. E. K. Rand, *The Brighter Aspects of the Merovingian Age*, *Proceedings of the Classical Association of England and Wales*, XVIII (1921), pp. 165-182; D. Tardi, *Fortunat, Étude sur un dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne* (Thèse pour le doctorat-ès-lettres, Paris, 1927).

eius in quattuor libris versu conscripsit." Whether the second request was ever fulfilled we cannot tell.

His poem on the life of St. Martin, composed in six months, as he himself tells us, is dedicated to Radekunde and Agnes, two royal ladies who had taken the veil. They were for many years the poet's closest friends and most generous patrons. In his preface addressed to Gregory, he tells how the latter requested him to write the poem. He acknowledges his debt to Sulpicius Severus, and, later, to Paulinus, and names other Christian epic poets, with the customary aspersions upon his own powers. The first book covers the *Vita* of Sulpicius up to xviii, 3, the second book completes the *Vita*. Book III covers *Dialogue* II, i-xiii, and Book IV covers *Dialogue* III, i-xvii. The address to his book, at the conclusion of the poem, is modelled upon that of Sulpicius to Postumianus, *Dialogue* III, xvii, 2.

The material used by Fortunatus was very nearly identical with that employed by Paulinus. The former gives a somewhat freer and more imaginative treatment of the facts afforded by Sulpicius. Yet, for all the attempted faithfulness of Paulinus, his taste for rhetorical ornament caused him in many cases so to expand the text by apostrophes, paradoxes, and literary commonplaces that his version seems further from the original than the more untrammelled and more poetic paraphrase of Fortunatus. Neither poet uses the *Epistles*; the first of the *Dialogues* (according to the division into three shown by the French manuscripts) does not have any bearing upon the life of St. Martin, and is, accordingly, omitted by both Paulinus and Fortunatus. When we have excepted those omissions which involve passages that form part of the framework of Sulpicius's narrative, either in the *Vita* or in the *Dialogues*, the following omissions seem to call for comment:

Vita, II, 2-8 (Halm, pp. 111-112). Fortunatus omits this passage upon the youthful piety of St. Martin, although Paulinus reproduces it. Since it is present in all the manuscripts, we must conclude that Fortunatus omitted it for some good reason of his own, probably because he wished to make a dramatic opening with the famous story of the beggar and the cloak.

Vita, III, 5 (Halm, pp. 113-114). This account of Martin's baptism and subsequent military service is omitted by Fortunatus alone, presumably arbitrarily.

Vita, V, 1-3 (Halm, p. 115). This passage, relating the manner of Martin's ordination as exorcist by Hilary of Poitou, and his determination to visit his parents, is omitted by Fortunatus.

Vita, V, 5 (Halm, pp. 115-116). The story of Martin's conversion of the brigand is omitted by Fortunatus.

Vita, X, 7-9 (Halm, p. 120). The description of monastic life at St. Martin's convent is omitted by Fortunatus, doubtless as superfluous.

Vita, XI, 5 (Halm, p. 121). This passage explains that those who were present at Martin's exposure of a false shrine did not see the evil spirit, but merely heard a voice. At the end there is a description of the destruction of the shrine. Fortunatus omits all this, probably as unessential.

Vita, XXI, 5 (Halm, p. 131). Here there seems to be merely an expanded reiteration of the statement of Martin's prophetic powers. It is omitted by Fortunatus.

Vita, XXIV, 1-3 (Halm, p. 133). This story of false prophets in Spain and in the East is omitted by both Paulinus and Fortunatus. Perhaps, as Huber thinks, it was omitted because the prophecy of the end of the world was not fulfilled, or perhaps it was omitted because it was a mere *excursus*, and by no means closely concerned with the life of the Saint.

Vita, XXV (Halm, pp. 134-135). Sulpicius here relates the story of his own visit to the Saint. Paulinus omits this passage, Fortunatus retains it. Huber believes that Paulinus omitted it because it treats not of deeds but of words. But his reason is scarcely valid, either in the light of the actual character of the passage itself, or in view of the sayings so carefully preserved by Paulinus in Book IV, 520 ff. It is my contention that Paulinus omitted the passage because of its personal connexion with Sulpicius, because it is concerned more closely with the spiritual life of Sulpicius and his intimacy with the Saint than with any manifestation of miraculous power on the part of the latter. Fortunatus, it is true, retained it, but in a manner which strongly confirms my theory of its rejection by Paulinus, for he has made the narrative impersonal and general, with no reference to Sulpicius, so that it becomes a description of the Saint's Christian humility and hospitality before *all* strangers.

Dialogus I (II), i, 3-4 (Halm, pp. 180-181). Fortunatus omits

some irrelevant details in regard to Martin's habits in sitting and standing.

Dialogus I (II), xii, 1-10 (Halm, pp. 194-195). Paulinus retains this story of the holy virgin, who was not at home to the Saint, but Fortunatus, feeling, apparently, that it redounds greatly to the glory of the virgin, and not sufficiently to that of the Saint, omits it.

Dialogus I (II), xiii (Halm, pp. 195-196). Paulinus omits this story of Martin's conversations with the Saints.

Dialogus I (II), xiv, 1-4 (Halm, p. 197). This passage upon the Antichrist and the end of the world is omitted by Paulinus and Fortunatus alike. The manuscripts of the French family¹ omit it, *D* (the Irish manuscript, which will be discussed below) and the Italian manuscripts, save *B*, have it.² Huber thinks that it was omitted because the prophecy had not been fulfilled, and it is possible that the authorities at Tours who had charge of the revised text decided to excise it for that reason. It was probably absent from the text of Sulpicius employed by Paulinus; concerning the text used by Fortunatus it is impossible, for reasons to be explained below, to make the same assertion.

Dialogus II (III), vi, 5 (Halm, p. 204). Paulinus omits this account of the Saint's encounter with Mercury and Jove.

Dialogus II (III), xi, 4-6, 10-11; xii, 2 (Halm, pp. 208-210). These passages are omitted by Fortunatus, who treats the incident concerning the bishops and Ithacius in a somewhat briefer fashion than Sulpicius.

Dialogus II (III), xv (Halm, pp. 213-214). Here is an account of the manner in which Brictio (St. Brice) was possessed of a devil and insulted St. Martin, but was relieved of his affliction by the Saint, and, upon repentance, was forgiven. The passage ends with the statement that when Brictio again sinned Martin replied to the afflicted man's accusers, "If Christ endured Judas, shall not I endure Brictio?" Naturally, the passage was not a favorite with the devotees of St. Brice. It is omitted by Paulinus, but is retained by Fortunatus in its proper place in the text. It is omitted in *V*, of the Italian school of the manuscripts of Sulpicius, is found at the end of *F*, of the French school, but is in its proper place in *A*, a manuscript of the same family, and in *D*, the

¹ With the exception of Paris, *B. N. lat.* 10848; cf. p. 61.

² Mombricitus and the manuscript called *Venetus* omit *non esse . . . metuuntur*.

Irish manuscript. The explanation of this peculiar phenomenon, which is one of the most puzzling in the history of the text, I shall defer until I come to the discussion of the results of my investigation. I shall, however, add here the evidence of certain manuscripts of the French or Tours family, numbers 10848, 13759, 5581, 5582, 5325, and 18312 among the Latin manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale. 10848 and 13759 have the passage some pages after the end of the *Dialogue*, with certain other material concerning St. Martin intervening. There is, however, a note in a later hand indicating its proper place in the text. 5581 breaks off at line 14, page 212 in Halm's edition, at a spot in the midst of the chapter preceding this passage. 5582 has the passage in its proper place. 5325 has it at the end of the *Dialogue*. 18312 has a lacuna from page 212, line 15 in Halm to page 213, line 17. This lacuna, which begins with the word *orando* in chapter xiv, and ends with *suscitassent* in the St. Brice episode in chapter xv, has been filled in by a later, I believe a modern, hand. The remainder of the episode is given in the original hand of the manuscript.

Before discussing the evidence contained in the poems as to readings of particular passages in the text of Sulpicius, I must explain briefly the nature of the problems which the textual tradition of Sulpicius presents to the modern investigator. I shall employ the *sigla* used by Halm in his edition of Sulpicius in the Vienna Corpus (1866), with the addition of certain other *sigla*, the significance of which I shall explain below.

The manuscripts of Sulpicius fall into three main divisions, a French, an Italian, and an Irish (see p. 62). The principal representatives of the French school are the manuscripts known as *A* (Monacensis lat. n. 3711 saec. XI), *F* (Monacensis lat. n. 6326 saec. X), and the vulgate text, here referred to as *v*. To the French school also belongs the manuscript known as *Q*, a collation of which was published by T. Eckhard in a book entitled *Codices Manuscripti Quedlinburgenses*, (Quedlinburg, 1723). This manuscript is assigned to the ninth century. The Italian family is represented by the oldest of the manuscripts, *V* (Veronensis, saec. VI), and by *B*, the manuscript of Brescia (saec. XII), used by Hieronymus de Prato in his edition of the works of Sulpicius (Verona, 1741-1754). The edition of Mombritius in the *Vitae Sanctorum*, 1479,

is based upon certain minor manuscripts, and while generally inclined toward the Italian family, is not without some traces of French influence (see below). The Irish family is represented by one manuscript alone, unknown to Halm. This manuscript, known as *D*, is a portion of the Book of Armagh, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin — hence its name *Dublinensis*. It was written in the year 806. It has been thoroughly discussed by Joseph Zellerer in his *Palaeographicae et criticae de Sulpicio Severo Aquitano commentationes* (Munich, 1912), and by E. C. Babut in an article entitled *Trois lignes inédites de Sulpice Sévère* (*Le moyen âge*, 2me Série, X [Paris, 1906], 206 ff.). Zellerer also discusses another manuscript (*K*), now in Munich in the Universitätsbibliothek, numbered 3(4°) of the Latin manuscripts and attributed to saec. VIII–IX. It is connected with the Italian tradition.¹

¹ The Irish manuscript deserves a special discussion. It is characterized by having the *Dialogues* divided into two books, as in the manuscripts of the Italian family. *D* has the passages upon Antichrist (Halm, p. 197, 3–19) and upon Brictio (Halm, p. 213, 11–215, 7) in their proper place in the text. Also *D* preserves two readings found in no other manuscript, the first in the *Epistle to Eusebius*, p. 138, 13 ff., where it reads, “Vere plane iste quicumque est si illis temporibus natus esset utique in dominum hanc vocem emittere potuisset. Profecto nequaquam ei voluntas ad perfidiam defuisset qui simili sanctum domini blasfemat exemplo,” the second in *Dialogue II* (Halm, p. 216, 15 ff.), “. . . graminibus. simul ignosce decepto et misserere fugitivo; placitum illi esse dominum et indulgens tantis obnoxio erroribus precare iudicium. dices tamen illi sed non aspere. . . .”

Babut maintains that *D* represents the tradition at Tours before any revision had been made by Perpetuus and his assistants. He holds that a manuscript found its way to Ireland before 460, and that *D* is the descendant of that manuscript. He therefore divides the manuscripts of Sulpicius into two groups, *D*, which represents the tradition previous to the Perpetuan edition and *all* the continental manuscripts, both French and Italian, which, he maintains, bear traces of the Tours revision. This conclusion is based upon the results of a collation of the *Epistles* and of *Dialogues II* and *III*. In the case of the *Vita* and the first *Dialogue* he finds conflicting evidence, since *D* sometimes agrees with the French manuscripts against the Italian family. This he explains by the supposition that a manuscript of the Irish tradition had found its way to Tours and had been used to correct the *Vita* and the first *Dialogue* of a later Tours version. The correction was not, however, carried on to the last two *Dialogues* and the *Epistles*.

To Babut Zellerer replies that the episodes of Brictio and the Antichrist are found in place in Da Prato and in Mombricitus, and the episode of the Antichrist in *V*. *D*, he maintains, shows errors in common with the French family in the *Epistles* and

It has been found convenient ¹ to designate the French tradition (as revised by Perpetuus) as the Martinellus, and to employ for it the *siglum* *T* 1. The later development of the Martinellus, as represented by the French school of manuscripts, is designated by the symbol *T* 2. For an early tradition in France, previous to the formation of the Martinellus, and the source of *D*, the sign *Z* has been used. *Y* represents the common French source of the French and Italian schools. The stemma is shown on page 64.

The following collation, by its very results, seems to me conclusive, even when every possible allowance is made for the influence of the poetical medium and of the individual taste of the men engaged in the task of producing a metrical paraphrase of a prose work. In the table which follows, I have, save in certain indicated cases, accepted Halm's reading as the correct one, and have enclosed it in a square bracket. The references are to page and line in his edition. I have divided the readings into several groups, in accordance with the several conclusions to which their testimony points.

The first group comprises those readings which show a connexion between Paulinus alone and the manuscripts of the Martinellus family. The symbol **T** has been employed to designate the common tradition of these two sources.

115, 17 ingressus] <i>VDK</i>	iter adgresso, Paulinus I, 198.
adgressus <i>AFM</i> Paris MSS.	Fortunatus omits this passage.
De Prato	

Here **T** reads *adgressus*.

in the last *Dialogue* as well as in the other works. On the other hand, *D*'s agreements with the French family in the *Vita* and in the first *Dialogue* are not essential but trivial errors. Zellerer holds that the two passages which *D* alone possesses are glosses. Finally, he points to frequent agreements between *D* and *V* and between *D* and *BKM*. He concludes that there are three groups — the French family (*AFQ* and a manuscript of the French school which he calls *P*), *V*, and *BDKM*, which he believes were derived from the same source as *V*, but have suffered conflation with the French school.

¹ The question of the relationship of the various manuscripts of Sulpicius was examined by students in the Seminary of Classical Philology at Harvard in the year 1929-1930, under the supervision of Professor E. K. Rand. I am indebted to the members of the Seminary, and above all to Professor Rand, for much of the information contained in this paper and for the tentative stemma which I append.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 128, 17 unguedine] <i>V</i> | unguine, Paul. II, 717. |
| unguento <i>DBM</i> | Fort. II, 50 incert. |
| unguine <i>AFKv</i> Paris MSS. | |

Here **T** reads *unguine*, probably a gloss.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 130, 18 ostendens] <i>VD</i> | ostentans, Paul. III, 161. |
| ostentans <i>AFKvB</i> | Fort. II, 141-142 incert. |
| De Prato | |
| ostensans <i>M</i> | |

T has the erroneous variant *ostentans*. Its presence in *KMB* tempts one to suppose that the reading existed in a very early version of the text.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 182, 16 malum serpens] <i>BVD</i> | serpentis furiale malum, Paul. IV, |
| malum serpentis <i>AFM</i> Paris | 131. |
| MSS. | Fort. III, 98 incert. |

T has the error *malum serpentis*.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 205, 28 accipis] <i>BMD</i> | aspiciens, Paul. V, 504. |
| accepis <i>V</i> | Fort. IV, 200-201 incert. |
| aspicis <i>AF</i> Paris MSS. | |

T has *aspicis*.

The evidence of these readings firmly supports the conclusions to which we were led in our examination of the words of Paulinus concerning the sources of his material. It is obvious that he employed a version of the text closely allied to that from which the French manuscripts, or the Martinellus, were drawn. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that any readings which are supported by both Paulinus and the French manuscripts must have occurred in the early version of the Martinellus issued under the direction of Perpetuus, a version to which we assigned the symbol *T* 1.

We now turn to a small number of readings which show a certain correspondence between Paulinus and *D*. To this tradition we have assigned the symbol **D**.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 112, 2 spiravit] <i>ABVKM</i> | servare (praeceptum), Paul. I, 20. |
| inspiravit <i>FQ</i> corr. <i>V</i> Paris | Fortunatus omits this passage. |
| MSS. | |
| servavit <i>D</i> | |

Here **D** reads *servavit*.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 116, 26 cedendum arbitratus] | cedendum ratus, Paul. I, 249. |
| AFVBM Paris MSS. | Fort. I, 149 incert. |
| secedendum ratus <i>D</i> | |
| cedendum temporatus <i>K</i> | |

D reads *ratus*. The *secedendum* is probably a Hibernian elaboration of *D*.

Although the small number of these readings deprives their testimony of much weight, they do lead one to believe that *D* and Paulinus may have some source in common. Certain other evidence, later to be discussed, will cast more light upon this relationship.

We now come to a long list of errors common to *D* and Fortunatus.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 122, 15 templum] | fanum, Fort. I, 249. |
| fanum <i>D solus</i> | templum, Paul. II, 256. |

This may be an independent error — a gloss in *D* and a poetical variant in Fortunatus.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 123, 14 ruit] | ruitura, Fort. I, 266. |
| ruituram <i>D solus</i> | Paul. II, 293-294 incert. |

Although here there appears to be a case of agreement between Fortunatus and *D*, it is possible that the error is independent. *Ruitura* is correct in Fortunatus; *ruituram* is incorrect in the prose of Sulpicius. The passage reads: "Tum vero — diversam in partem *ruit*, adeo ut rusticos — paene prostraverit."

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 129, 25 ebibit] AFBKM | bibit, Fort. II, 102. |
| Paris MSS. | Paul. III, 119-120 incert. |
| ebebit <i>V</i> | |
| bibit <i>D</i> | |

D and Fortunatus are probably independent here. *D* may erroneously have written *ubi ebibit* as *ubi bibit*. Fortunatus used the simple verb for metrical reasons; the line in question is crowded.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 133, 3 adcurrit] AFK Paris MSS. | occurrit, Fort. II, 257. |
| <i>V</i> corr. ex <i>occurrit</i> | Paul. III, 326 incert. |
| accurrit <i>BM</i> | |
| occurrit <i>D</i> | |

This is very probably a case of independent error.

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 182, 14 perculit] | percutitur, Fort. III, 97. |
| percussit <i>D solus</i> | percussi, Fort. III, 98. |
| | perculerat, Paul. IV, 128. |

Here there seems no doubt that Fortunatus and *D* are connected in error.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 188, 3 adponit] | ministrat, Fort. III, 257. |
| administrat <i>D solus</i> | adponit mensam, Paul. IV, 375. |

D's error is probably either a gloss or a scribal error due to a reminiscence of *subministrat* in the same line. Fortunatus may have shifted the two words to suit his meter. (Cf. *posuit*, I. 256.)

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 190, 25 obviam] | obvia, Fort. III, 297. |
| obvia <i>D solus</i> | Paul. IV, 483 incert. |

This error was of scribal origin in *D*. Fortunatus changed the text for metrical reasons.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 191, 29 recens] | nuper, Fort. III, 369. |
| nuper <i>D</i> 10848 | Paul. IV, 533-534 incert. |

This seems definitely an error derived from a common source. 10848 may have been influenced by Fortunatus.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 202, 11 esse] | stat, Fort. IV, 119. |
| stare <i>D solus</i> | Paul. V, 340 incert. |

Again *D* and Fortunatus seem to derive an error from a common source.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 202, 13 inidentes dominum] | inludunt domino crepitante ca- |
| inidentes domino <i>D solus</i> | chinno, Fort. IV, 126. |
| | Paul. V, 347-350 incert. |

These readings are probably independent.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 206, 19 ad fundamenta provolvit] | molemque in pulvere solvit, Fort. |
| fundamenta dissolvit <i>D solus</i> | IV, 229. |
| | Paul. V, 573 incert. |

This error may have been derived from a common source.

212, 1 limen]
 limina *D solus*

limina, Fort. IV, 391.
 Paul. V, 734 incert.

This agreement may be independent, since Fortunatus may have changed the text *metri gratia*.

Of the twelve readings here quoted four seem probably to have been derived from a common source, three are possibly of independent origin, and five seem probably to have arisen independently. Thus the evidence of some connexion between the sources of Fortunatus and of *D* is fairly, although not overwhelmingly, strong. Such a connexion, if it does exist, must certainly be sought in a common French ancestor of the two traditions. We have already seen that there is some suggestion of a connexion between *D* and Paulinus.

I shall now list a large number of readings, of a somewhat varied character, which bear upon the relationship of Paulinus, Fortunatus, and one or more of the manuscript families. Upon the basis of the information gained from this group of readings and from those already discussed, I shall draw up a stemma showing the relationship of the poetical versions of Sulpicius's work to the various branches of the textual tradition. I have included in the following list a few cases in which I saw reason to reject Halm's reading in favor of one supported by the evidence of the poetical versions.

121, 15-16 imperat nomen meritumque loqueretur] <i>KVQ</i> ut loquere- tur <i>AF</i> Paris MSS. imperat ut <i>BMD</i>	imperat ut nomen fateatur, Fort. I, 228. precatur proderet ut meritum . . . nomenque, Paul. II, 187.
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Ut is an independent gloss in the manuscripts, and is included for the sake of elegance in the poets.

122, 4 in adversos] <i>FBKM</i> Paris MSS. in adversum <i>A</i> in adverso <i>DVv</i>	inadversus, Fort. I, 238. Cf. Fort. II, 171. Paul. II, 236-237 incert.
--	--

It seems best first to quote the context of this passage: ". . . levato ergo in adversos signo crucis imperat turbæ non moveri loco onusque deponere." It will be seen from the context that *inadversus* may very well be the correct reading. The confusion of *u* and *o* might very easily

lead to independent errors of *in adversos*. The *in adverso* of *DVv* may have been an independent error caused by the omission of one *s* of consecutive *ss* in the combination *in adversos signo*. The reading of *A* may be a scribal error. There is some disagreement among the manuscripts of Fortunatus, but some of the best manuscripts in both branches of the tradition support the reading *in adversus* in both passages cited. The change to *in adversos* is so easy and so natural that there seems to be some reason here for the application of the principle of the *lectio difficilior*.

122, 9	ponunt] <i>KBMV</i> deponunt <i>AF</i> Paris MSS. deponant <i>D</i>	deponunt, Fort. I, 242. Paul. II, 239-245 incert.
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Here we find *T 2*, and Fortunatus, agreeing in error with *D*. Possibly, since the reading *deponunt* makes a better clausula, the latter is the correct reading.

123, 3	adclinis] inclinans <i>D solus</i>	inclinans, Fort. I, 260. inclinatis . . . ramis, Paul. II, 293.
--------	---------------------------------------	--

This agreement in error between the poets and *D* seems to point to a common source, which, possibly, contained a gloss *inclinans* on *adclinis*. It is, however, possible that the error may be independent.

127, 1	patrem familias] <i>V</i> cocum patris familias <i>BDKM</i> quendam e familia <i>AF</i> Paris MSS.	arrepto . . . coco, Paul. II, 579. arreptoque . . . coco, Fort. I, 453.
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Undoubtedly the original reading was *cocum patris familias*, as evidenced by *BDKM*, Paulinus and Fortunatus. *T 2*, in its pursuit of greater elegance, changed it to *quendam e familia*. *V*'s error is its own.

127, 11	egestus] <i>AFV</i> Paris MSS. egressus <i>DKM</i>	egestus, Paul. II, 600. egreditur, Fort. I, 470.
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The correct reading is *egestus* as evidenced by *AFV*, Paris MSS., and Paulinus. The error in *D* and in *KMB* is probably independent. Fortunatus and *D* may have drawn the error from a common source, but more probably made it independently.

- 127, 12 motu] *KBMV* motus, Paul. II, 603.
 metu *AFQD* Paris MSS. Fort. I, 472-473 incert.

The addition of the support of Paulinus to *KBMV* makes it extremely probable that *motu* is the correct reading. *D* and *T* 2 read *metu*, an error which might easily arise independently in the case of scribes who memorized *motu atque impetu* and repeated it to themselves.

- 127, 15 decem] De Prato bis quino daemone, Fort. I, 478.
 decim *VK* Paul. II, 613 incert.
 se *X D*
 sedecim *AFBMv* Paris MSS.

Here, of course, the correct reading is *decem*. Perhaps *D*'s manner of writing *se X* shows the way in which a scribe might have written *se se X*, thus leading to *sedecim*.

- 128, 18 superlinire livores] *BMV* contingens vulnera, Paul. II, 717.
 superlinere livores *DK* tangens membra, Fort. II, 51.
 membra contingere *AFv* Paris
 MSS.

The correct reading is doubtless that of *DK*. Possibly a gloss found in an early form of the text was incorporated by *T* 1, taken over by Fortunatus, and poetically varied by Paulinus as *contingens vulnera*.

- 129, 22 in sellula] *V* sella, Fort. II, 98.
 sellula *AFvB* Paris MSS. Paul. III, 80 incert.
 sella *DKM*

The reading of *DKM* is probably due to independent errors in the manuscripts. Fortunatus doubtless used *sella* for metrical reasons.

- 129, 26 tradidit] tradidit, Paul. III, 122.
 tradi iubet *D solus* Fort. II, 105 incert.

Here *D* is alone in error.

- 130, 23 unum rusticum] rusticus unus, Fort. II, 154.
 virum rusticum *D solus* Paul. III, 182 incert.

D is alone in error.

- 134, 10 *terram*] *VDK* *terras*, Fort. II, 302.
 terras AFM Paris MSS. Paul. III, 374 ff. incert.

Fortunatus read *terras* for metrical reasons. Later *T 2* changed the singular to *terras* for the sake of greater elegance.

- 182, 1 *longum admodum crinem*] *lambens colla comasque*, Fort. III,
 VD De Prato 56.
 longius collum crinemque Paul. IV, 88-91 incert.
 AFMv Paris MSS.

Fortunatus in his poetical elaboration failed exactly to reproduce the meaning of the text before him. *Lambens* is not an exact reproduction of the scene drawn by Sulpicius. The similarity of *T 2* to Fortunatus may possibly be the result of conscious use of the poet as an example of the greater elegance to which *T 2* wished to attain.

- 182, 22 *ulceris*] *vulnere*, Paul. IV, 142.
 vulneris D solus *vulneris*, Fort. III, 110.

Here *D* and the poets agree in error.

- 183, 19 *furore satiato*] *AFD De Prato* *satiati corde furore*, Paul. IV, 205.
 Paris MSS. *satiat vindicta fomem lymphatilis*
 furore saciati M *irae*, Fort. III, 135.
 furore fatigati V

The original reading was *furore satiato*. The errors of Paulinus and *M* are independent, unless possibly Paulinus influenced *M*. The error of *V* is independent, and arose, perhaps, through the following steps: *satiati, fatiati, fatigati*.

- 184, 14 *occurrerent*] *VD* *accurrunt*, Paul. IV, 230.
 occurrerent AFMv Paris *accurrunt*, Fort. III, 143.
 MSS.
 De Prato

The poets and the Martinellus seem to agree upon *occurrerent*, although the error may easily be independent.

- 188, 4 *edente*] *VDBM* *residente*, Fort. III, 259.
 sedente AFv Paris MSS. Paul. IV, 380 incert.

Fortunatus has here employed *residente* for the sake of contrast with *stetit* in line 259, and so perhaps moved the rhetorically-minded editors of *T 2* to a similar change.

Here *D* and Fortunatus have preserved the correct reading, lost, probably through independent error, in *T* 2 and the Italian manuscripts. Thus De Prato's conjecture is confirmed.

204, 21 fatebantur] *F*₁ *V* Paris MSS. testatur, Fort. IV, 170.
fatebatur *F*₂ *AvDBM* Paul. omits this passage.

The correct reading here is probably *fatebantur*. The changes to the singular were probably independent.

206, 10 conum sublime] *B* in conum, Paul. V, 536.
tronum sublime *V* (thronum sublime thronum, Fort. IV, 213.
corr.)
quae in quo collectio summi-
tatis thronum sublime
AQ Paris MSS.
quae in thronum sublime *DM*

The original reading was probably *conum*, as preserved in Paulinus and *B*. Early in the history of the text the error *thronum* crept in, aided, possibly, by the association of ideas between *sublime* and a throne. Possibly it was written in the text as a variant, and so passed into *D* and *T* 2. Paulinus probably saw both readings in *T* 1 and chose *conum*. It seems hard to believe that the error occurred independently in both the Italian and the French family. Possibly the variant reading existed even in *X*. *AFQ* also add *in quo collectio summitatis*, after *quae*, obviously as a gloss.

From the above collation the following statistics may be drawn:

Paulinus, Fortunatus, and *D* agree in error three times (123, 3; 182, 22; 200, 16).

Fortunatus and *DBKM* agree, possibly in error, once (127, 11).

Fortunatus, *D*, and the Martinellus agree in error twice (122, 9; 201, 2).

Paulinus, *D*, and the Martinellus agree in error once (201, 12).

Paulinus, Fortunatus, and the Martinellus agree in error twice (128, 18; 184, 14).

There are three cases in which the reading of Fortunatus may have influenced the reading of the later manuscripts of the French school (182, 1; 188, 4; 191, 19).

In one case Paulinus may have influenced *M* (183, 19).

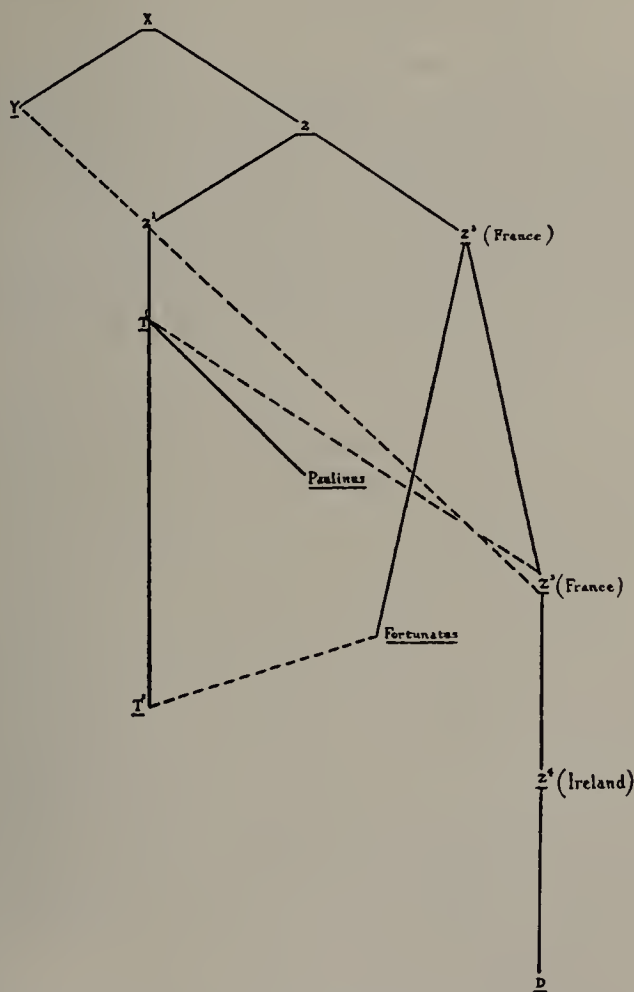
We have already, in the previous collations, seen evidence of the connexion between Paulinus and the Martinellus, between Paulinus and *D*, and between Fortunatus and *D*. Now, in the above statistics, we find evidence of connexion between Paulinus, Fortunatus, and *D*; between Fortunatus, *D*, and the Martinellus; between Paulinus, *D*, and the Martinellus. Certain cases, in which Fortunatus and the later French manuscripts agree in error, lead one to hazard the guess that the poetical version may have exercised some influence upon the editors of *T 2*, who have been found to have been inclined to revise the text in the direction of greater elegance.

With the evidence now before us, we venture upon an explanation of the relationship of the poetical versions of the legend of St. Martin to the various branches of the text of Sulpicius. The following points seem to be the most important:

(1) Both the evidence of Paulinus himself, as quoted in the first portion of this paper, and the fairly numerous agreements between his text and that of *T 2* seem to warrant the assertion that his poem is based upon an early version of the Tours text of the works of Sulpicius.

(2) The position of Fortunatus is extremely interesting. His connexion with the Martinellus is shown by agreements with it in several cases. However, the principal connexion of Fortunatus seems to be with *D*, the Irish manuscript. At times Fortunatus agrees with *D* alone, at times with *D* and *T 2*, or with *D* and Paulinus, or with *D* and both. The cases in which Fortunatus and *T 2* alone agree do not, because of their nature, seem to be the result of a common origin, but of a different cause, as I explained above. Now we are certain that both *D* and Fortunatus were of French origin, and that Fortunatus was drawn from a text of Tours. Therefore, in the light of this evidence, and of the agreements between *D* and Paulinus, it seems safe to assert that *D* and Fortunatus were both drawn from a French text closely connected with *T 1*. I say "closely connected" and not "identical," because, although we know that Gregory must have sent Fortunatus a manuscript from Tours, the numerous cases in which the poet diverges from the readings of Paulinus and *T 2* make it seem probable that he employed a version collateral but not identical with *T 1*, a version derived from the ancestor of *D*.

(3) Although the relationship of *D* to the Italian school lies outside the field of this paper, I may say that the agreements between *V* and *D* may be explained by a possible conflation of a manuscript of *D*'s own



[*Note to stemma:* Since there is some possibility that the ancestors of *D* were directly influenced by *T* *I*, I have so indicated it in the stemma. The agreements of *D* and Paulinus point in this direction. The reader should be warned against misunderstanding the stemma. The broken line from *Y* to *Z*₃ indicates (as already explained) the influence only of *Y* upon *Z*₃, not of *Y* upon *Z*₁.]

line with some member of the *Y* tradition. This must have occurred during the period when both families still remained in France, or at least such would be the most probable time for such a conflation. It must have occurred after the separation of the ancestors of *D* and Fortunatus.

The St. Brice episode must have existed in all branches of the early tradition, according to the testimony of *D*, Fortunatus, and the French manuscripts. Its inclusion or omission must have depended upon the inclinations of individual editors. The episode of the Antichrist was probably in *Zz*, but not in *Zr*.

I have appended a revised version of a portion of the earlier stemma, making plain the connexion of Paulinus with *Tr* and of Fortunatus with *D* and with the Martinellus.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE COMMENTARY OF SERVIUS DANIELIS ON VIRGIL¹

BY JOHN J. H. SAVAGE

FROM the standpoint of the most recent advances of our knowledge of the relationship between the two most comprehensive commentaries on Virgil² I propose in this and in a succeeding paper to examine more in detail than has been done heretofore a selected group of the oldest manuscripts representing both of the critical works of the fourth-century imperial schools — the commentaries of Servius Danielis and of Servius. A fresh study of the external evidence of what may be termed 'interrelationship,' as it is presented to us in the extant ninth and tenth century codices of both these bodies of comment, is urgently needed. In this way a foundation may be laid for a new approach to a problem which has been discussed from various angles in recent years. The question arises: have we in the codices of Daniel a conflation of two *distinct* commentaries or simply one commentary to which additions have been made from various sources? Thilo³ constituted his monumental edition on the basis of this latter

¹ *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Bucolicorum Eclogae X . . . et in ea Mauri Servii Honorati Grammatici Commentarii, ex antiquiss. exemplaribus longe meliores (sic) et auctiores (sic) ex bibliotheca Petri Danielis I. C., Parisiis, MDC.* The Harvard copy is signed 'de la Rotherye.' I shall refer to this as Daniel, and to the codices used by him as the DS manuscripts.

² There is no need to record here all the literature on this subject. Recent literature begins with K. Barwick, *Zur Serviusfrage* in *Philologus*, LXX (1911), pp. 106-145, and F. Lammert, *De Hieronymo Donati discipulo* in *Comm. phil. Ien.*, IX, 2 (1912). A good starting point for the whole problem is the suggestive paper by E. K. Rand, *Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?* in *Classical Quarterly*, X (1916), pp. 162 ff.; cf. for some bibliographical material my article, *The Scholia in the Virgil of Tours* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVI (1925), pp. 91 ff. (hereafter referred to as 'The Virgil of Tours'); also *More on Donatus' Commentary on Virgil* in *Class. Quart.*, XXXIII (1929), pp. 56 ff., and *Was the Commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus Extant in the Ninth Century?* in *Classical Philology*, XXVI (1931), pp. 405 ff. For a general survey of the literature recently published on this subject, cf. F. Lammert, Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, CCXXXI, 2 (1931), pp. 85-92.

³ *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vols. I (1881), II (1884), III, 1 (1887), edited by G. Thilo; vol. III, 2 (1902), edited by H. Hagen.

theory. His text and his apparatus have wrought havoc with the material offered by the manuscripts, as only one who has sifted this material can appreciate. His theory finds favor with few, if any, investigators of Servian problems at the present moment.

If then we have a conflation of two works in the Servius Danielis, one is obviously the commentary of the grammarian Servius, which has come down to us in a distinct group of manuscripts, and the other (for so the finger points) seems to have been the great *variorum* commentary of Aelius Donatus, who antedated Servius by about a quarter of a century, and whose comment on Virgil was undoubtedly an important source for the latter's more compendious work. To avoid the assumption of an hypothesis not yet proved, I shall refer to this commentary on which that of Servius is based as **D**; the reader may think of either Donatus or Daniel, as his inclination prompts. The symbol **DS** will similarly stand for the longer commentary published by Daniel, in which **D** and **S** (i. e. Servius) are combined. The **D** commentary as we now have it in the **DS** group of manuscripts has, to be sure, suffered losses.¹ At the same time the conflation was so managed that in many instances the original notes of Donatus are preserved, although in cases where Servius adopted with modifications a note of his predecessor, the Servian version has usually taken precedence. We need, therefore, more than just a study of the manuscript material at our disposal. There remains the very essential task of evaluating the two bodies of comment, not in their entirety — what, we hope, will be provided in the proposed new edition of the commentaries — but in typical places throughout the works themselves. Such an evaluation will be undertaken in a separate article.²

From the nature of their contents the manuscripts fall naturally into two main groups. The first is composed of the small number of codices which contain the so-called Servius Danielis or Servius auctus (**DS**). The second is a much larger group. This is made up of the hundreds of manuscripts which contain either in whole or in part the

¹ A convenient collection of material from the glossaries in which Donatus is cited by name may be found in Mountford's *Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries* (*Cornell Studies in Class. Philol.*, XXI, 1925), p. 21.

² By H. T. Smith, one of the editors of the projected edition of Servius. This study will, it is hoped, be ready for publication in the near future.

Commentary of Servius (S) or the 'vulgate Servius,' as it is generally called. I propose to deal with all the known manuscripts of the first group; for the second I shall confine my selection chiefly to those which appear to be the oldest and best representatives of the codices of Servius. Certain manuscripts which are later than the eleventh century¹ will be discussed either because of some interesting external facts connected with them, or because the text of such manuscripts supplements, or supports, whatever information we may have gained from a study of the books of earlier date, especially those of the DS group.

The manuscripts of this DS class so far known number about a score in all; about half of these, which are of the humanistic period, are considered only for the light they may throw indirectly on the text.

Because of the paucity of known books of this class and owing, too, to the fragmentary nature of their contents, no attempt can be made to group them according to families. The immediate provenance of many of these is already known. Moreover a careful sifting of the palaeographical facts presented by these codices may furnish us with further evidence which may be used to support an hypothesis for the genesis of that conflation of Servius' commentary with D.²

THE DS MANUSCRIPTS

(I) LEIDEN, Voss. O. 80, saec. IX (= L).³ *Ecl.* 4-10; *Geo.* I. 1-278.

P. Daniel, *praef. lectori*, G. Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV (1859), p. 541, *Serv. comm.*, vol. I, *praef.*, p. iii; vol. III, *praef.*, pp. viii ff.; E. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius*, pp. 46 ff., 327, *Supplément*, pp. xvii, xxxi; O. v. Gebhardt, *Centralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.*, 1888, p. 390, n. 1.

This manuscript contains 104 fol. 'pergamenta vetera,' one column to a page of 21 lines in *Ecl.*, 25 in *Geo.*, each 16.25 × 10.50 cm. There are 13 quat., numbered V-XI. Quaternions IV and XII-XVI are not

¹ For an estimate of the value of the fifteenth and sixteenth century books for the text of the DS comment, cf. Thilo, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Scholiasten des Vergilius*, *Rheinisches Museum*, XIV (1859), pp. 542 ff.

² Cf. E. K. Rand, *l. c.*, p. 161.

³ There is a bibliography on a paper attached to this codex referring to Lucilius, p. xxxix, ed. Mueller.

numbered; the first three quaternions are missing. F. 1a: EGLOGA III POLLIO, beginning operi ergo non maiora, sed paulo mai[ora] (= Thilo, vol. III, 44.15 ff.). F. 64: et item quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas (*Ecl.* 10.77 = Thilo, p. 127.22). Then a later (s. XI?) hand has added: Exemplo catoni secuti sunt multi ex te Christe nobis data est fides quam inter nos. F. 65a has some musical notes; f. 65b: Georgicon (heading added apparently by Daniel). Ff. 78,79: evanida fere sunt et chemicis medicamentis magnam partem pessumdata (from a recent note inserted after f. 98). F. 104b: per coeum autem et typhoea et capetum omnes gigantes intellegimus (*Geo.* 1.278 = Thilo, p. 196.2). The ruling is 'Old Style,' 4 leaves at a time.¹

The commentary on the *Eclogues* and the fragment on the *Georgics* were written by two hands. The first hand wrote the initials of each lemma in semi-uncial; the other wrote his lemmas in rustic capitals.² A corrector wrote a script which seems to be contemporary, if not identical, with the hand represented in the *Georgics* comment. The hands are clearly distinguishable: the second hand uses open *a* frequently, the *z*-symbol as well as the apostrophe for the suspension *ur*; the first seems to use the apostrophe only for the suspension. The second hand uses the *or* and *nt* ligatures frequently.³

This codex was used by Daniel; the frequent sixteenth-century notes in the margins seem to be from his hand. It is noteworthy, too, that the quaternions in the part containing the commentary on the *Georgics* are not numbered. The numbers cease with the end of the

¹ Rand discovered from external evidence that in the case of the books of Tours, at least, there were two fairly definite periods. These were determined after a careful study of the ruling and make-up of quaternions. The first he called O. S. (Old Style) and the second N. S. (New Style). The latter came into use at the *scriptorium* at Tours about the years 820-835. See *Palaeographia Latina*, V (1927), pp. 52-78, and the same author's *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (*Studies in the Script of Tours*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 11 ff.

² The individual letters of the lemmas in rustic capitals are frequently filled in by the application of colored ink or crayon.

³ Thilo distinguishes two correctors: one (*l*) a contemporary hand; the other (*λ*) he would place in the twelfth century. My belief is that the scribe who copied the comment on the *Georgics* corrected the text of the *Eclogues* himself; moreover there are hardly any corrections or additions by a contemporary hand to the comment on the *Georgics*.

comment on the *Eclogues*. Of the comment on the *Eclogues* we have lost three quaternions. These must have contained the DS comment on part of *Ecl.* 1-3; the small number of missing folia would only accommodate perhaps the comment on one *Eclogue*.¹

There are indications that the manuscript from which *L* was copied had the text of Virgil as well as a commentary in the margins; cf. Thilo on *Geo.* 1.57, 94 (app. cr.), and vol. III, *praef.*, p. ix, n. 3.

Daniel called this manuscript *Lemovicensis*. He has signed his name at the beginning and end of the book, Petrus Daniel Aurelianensis. On the cover is written 'A Monsieur Daniel d'Orléans.' On a paper leaf attached to the beginning of the book are some verses by Juretus: In Servium Honoratum a Petro Daniele I. C. restitutum. The verses seem to have been changed and annotated by Daniel himself. He seems to have procured the book from a monastic library at Limoges² or from Fleury. There is no indication, however, that the volume came from either place. We are led to assume either that there was a note in the book in Daniel's time which indicated the library from which it was taken or that he himself had dealings directly with Limoges; cf. Gebhardt, *l. c.*, for the interesting conjecture that *L* may be a fragment of an original book from Bobbio,³ which had the complete DS comment on the poems of Virgil. The manuscript once formed part of the library of Isaac Voss; cf. f. 1a, lower margin: Ex

¹ Twelve folia of the size of those in this codex could not possibly hold more than the Servian comment on Eclogue 3, seeing that 64 folia are filled by 83 pages of Thilo's text. The immediate exemplar from which *L* was copied must have been incomplete: this is the inference from the fact that the scribe of *L* apparently numbered his quaternions consecutively. The DS comment, therefore, for the first two *Eclogues* was not extant in the immediate archetype of our codex, at least at the time when the book was copied. If the DS comment in *L* represents substantially that of Donatus (cf. Rand, *Class. Quart.*, X, 1916, p. 162), the loss may have taken place sometime preceding the copying of the manuscript, that is, sometime in the ninth century, when the commentary of Aelius Donatus seems to have been extant; cf. *Class. Phil.*, XXVI (1931), pp. 405 ff.

² No doubt from the important monastery, St. Martial's.

³ In the tenth-century catalogue of Bobbio there is mention of a *librum Donati super Virgilium unum* (Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, p. 69). This may of course have been a copy of the rhetorical comment of Tib. Cl. Donatus on Virgil; still it is possible to think of a volume containing part of the commentary of Aelius Donatus, perhaps on the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* 1-2.

Biblioth. Viri Illust. Isaaci Vossi. On the top margin is the mark M 28.

There are few peculiarities in the script of *L* which might give us a clue to its provenance. The Insular sign for *enim* occurs a few times; the Insular suspensions for *quam* and *quod* are confused, but these instances are very rare, whereas in the manuscripts of the **DS** commentary to the *Aeneid* there is decisive evidence for an exemplar of Insular origin. Omissions in the archetype of all our codices of Servius are supplied by *L*; cf. Thilo's notes to *Ecl.* 6.35, 7.58, 8.4.

(2) ROME, Vatican. 3317, saec. X ex. (= V).¹

F. Ursinus, Iunius Philargyrius . . . in Bucolica et Georgica Vergilii Notae (part of a miscellany, Rome, 1587); Thomas, *Essai*, p. 328; H. Keil, *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertumsw.*, VI (1848), col. 548; Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XV (1860), p. 119, *Serv. comm.*, vol. III, *praef.*, p. xi; P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), pp. 51, 127, 195, 360; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1904-05), I, p. 154, n. 75; II, p. 251; Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1913), p. 431.3; Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 135, 185, 192, 222, 244; id., *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), pl. XLIX.

The manuscript contains ff. 89, parch., 32 × 25 cm., one column, 33 lines to the page. The quaternions are numbered from f. 9; the last is no. XI (f. 89). Ff. 1a-3a are so worn as to be almost indecipherable; f. 3b is blank. The former contain the Servian introduction to the *Eclogues* (pp. 2.20-10.15, Th.). Ff. 4 and 5 were added later (s. XIV/XV). These pages follow the preceding in text and end with Servius *Ecl.* 1.81.² The tenth-century Beneventan hand begins f. 6a with the comment on *Ecl.* 1.60. There is no heading. F. 27a: Explicit liber feliciter. Incipit expositio Servii grammatici in libris georgicorum. F. 85b: end of the comment on the *Georgics*. Then follows

¹ Cf. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (on pl. XLIX), using the symbol for *tur* as a criterion for dating V.

² To be more exact, the comment in the Vatican book contains the work of Servius as far as *Ecl.* 1.37, and from that point as far as *Ecl.* 2.10 the interpolation from Philargyrius, which is supplied in most of the manuscripts at the place where there was a lacuna in the archetype, cf. Thilo, vol. III, *praef.*, p. v.

immediately, without heading, Servius on *Aen.* 1.1-35 (equis, p. 26.1 Th.).¹

According to Ursinus this codex formerly belonged to Franciscus Filelphus. On a paper fly-leaf in front is the signature of Fulvius Ursinus: Virgilio con Servio antichissimo che fu de Filelpho in pergamena in foglio. Ful. Urs. Nollac however points out that the note of Ursinus belongs not to Vat. 3317, but to the twelfth-century Vat. 3251 (Virgil with Servius). The former codex came into the possession of Ursinus from the library of Manutius.² The book must have been in Monte Cassino by the end of the eleventh century.³ Thilo collated it for the text of the *Georgics* only. There are very many additions to the text of Servius throughout the *Georgics*; some of these notes contain striking parallels to the DS commentary furnished us by the *Lemovicensis* for *Geo.* 1.1-278. The text of Servius on the *Eclogues* contained in *V* has, it seems, not been studied. It is mixed in character, including readings from both branches of the Servian codices. Some of the additions found in the editions of Stephanus and Fabricius are also here.⁴ This manuscript is practically our sole authority⁵ for the text of DS from *Geo.* 1.279 to the end of the fourth book. The text of Servius on *Aen.* 1.1-35 which follows immediately without heading has apparently never been collated. The script, except for a few lines at the beginning, is identical with the tenth-century text immediately preceding. It is interesting to note that *V* contains the statement about the death of Virgil hitherto found only in fifteenth-century manuscripts of Italian provenance.⁶ Thilo indicates a lacuna in the text of the

¹ Ff. 85-89 could not contain more than that amount of Servian text. Both Nollac (*o. c.*, p. 195) and Lowe (*l. c.*) state that the book ends with the comment on *Aen.* 2.417. I cannot explain this discrepancy in any other way than by assuming that several quaternions of *V* have disappeared since Nollac's time.

² Nollac, *o. c.*, pp. 195-196.

³ Lowe, *o. c.*

⁴ Cf. note on *Ecl.* 7.41: dicit] quae sardao dicitur *add. V*

⁵ Another book with text in Beneventan script of the eleventh century, but with some scholia of s. XIII/XIV, is Paris. 10308. There are several 'Vatican' notes to the *Georgics* in this book.

⁶ Perit autem Tarenti, in Apuliae civitate. nam dum Metapontum cupit videre, valetudinem ex solis ardore contraxit. sepultus est autem Neapoli: in cuius tumulo ab ipso compositum est tale distichon: Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope.

Servian *vita* at this point (p. 3.23). There are several late copies of the Vatican commentary to the *Georgics*.¹

The script is Beneventan,² of the tenth century. The comment on the *Georgics* seems to have been written by one scribe; a contemporaneous hand occasionally corrects the text and adds marginal notes of no import. The ruling is 4 O. S. The capital letters in the lemmata are colored red and green in the part containing the comment on the *Georgics*. The suspensions and abbreviations are regular and present no clue which would lead us to form a conjecture in regard to the provenance of this important codex. There are two instances of *qui* for *quae* by the first hand and some confusion of relative pronouns. Some of these may be due to misunderstanding of ancient *Notae*, e. g. *quae* or *quia* for *quo* (cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 244-245); *dum* for *dixit* suggests perhaps *d* with a stroke through the shaft (*ibid.*, p. 61), used by an Irish scribe in Bobbio in the eighth century for *dum*. Several errors in the manuscript link up with Insular tradition.³

In the note of Servius on *Geo.* 3.87 the reading *ligno* for *dorso*, which undoubtedly arose from a gloss (cf. Serv. *Geo.* 1.172), is found in *BV*. The lemmata in *V* are often fuller than those in our Servian codices; the reason is evident enough. The scholiast has his own text of Virgil before him and thus almost invariably begins his lemma with the first word in the corresponding verse of Virgil, which for the most part is followed immediately by the phrase on which the comment is based. This text of Virgil from which *V* was copied had itself glosses or alter-

¹ Besides the books mentioned by Thilo, vol. III, *praef.*, there are Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2680 (nearly complete), Paris. 7966 and 16237.

² Cf. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, *app.*, p. 362. The codex is characterized by an exclusive preference for the Caroline form of the letter *d* (p. 135). The unusual ligatures and other features in this script have caused both Ursinus and Thilo to make many egregious blunders; cf. also Lowe, *Studia Palaeographica*, in *Sitz. Königl. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch.*, XII (1910), pp. 13 ff. Vaticanus has the rare form *ni* (with stroke) for *nisi* (*Benev. Scr.*, p. 185).

³ E. g. the error *sentibus* for *entibus* is found also in *Monac.* 6394, which is related to *Bern.* 363 (*B*), written in Irish script, and in the Reichenau book, *Carolr.* 116 (*A*). It has survived in Petrarch's own copy of Servius which accompanies the text of Virgil; cf. *Francisci Petrarcae Vergilianus Codex . . . praefatus est Iohannes Galbeati, ascita etiam Achillis Ratti* (*nunc Pii XI*), Milan (1930).

nate readings, probably written over the line. The reading *ignotum aequor* at *Geo.* 1.50 becomes *immensum aequor* in *V*. In the added comment peculiar to *V* there is an attempt to reconcile the two readings.¹

There is evidence, too, in the important additions to Servius in *V* that we are dealing here with a distinct personality who has compiled this commentary for his own purposes. Of all the scholiasts on Virgil, as far as I am aware, this writer is the only one who uses the first person singular in speaking of himself;² e. g. on *Geo.* 3.296, 4.219: *ut puto, ut ego puto*. In his note on 2.333 he uses the phrase *quod magis puto*.³ The *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the Commentary itself is placed by Thomas⁴ at 650 A.D.

How Ursinus was deceived in believing that the additional comment in Vaticanus should be attributed to Philargyrius (Filagrius)⁵ has been shown clearly by Thilo (*praef.*, p. xii).⁶ There is one point overlooked by all critics who have taken up the question of the authorship of this comment. This manuscript has the Servian comment to a small part of the *Aeneid*. This fact would be insignificant in itself were it not that the errors in the text of the comment on the *Aeneid* show that *V* has close affinities with the DS codex Cassellanus (*C*).⁷ If then the basis of Servian text in both these comments is similar, there is some ground for holding that the peculiar combination of the scholia in *V* does not necessarily postulate a different ultimate source for the added comment in that manuscript from that in the more carefully done conflation of Servius and commentary D which we find in *C*. The evidence of similarity of Servian texts in each codex points rather to an identical

¹ Cf. also *app. cr.*, pp. 176.9, 259.17, and 248.20, Th.

² Servius himself seems to use invariably the first person plural; the compiler of the DS comment elsewhere has a decided preference for the impersonal *dictum est*.

³ Cf. Thilo, vol. III, *praef.*, p. xii.

⁴ *Essai*, p. 52. Thomas comes to this conclusion because Altinum is mentioned in the scholium on *Geo.* 1.262 as a commercial center. The town was destroyed 650 A.D., according to Thomas.

⁵ The spelling *Filagrius* is better attested according to Heraeus, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXIX (1930), p. 391; cf. Lindsay, *Class. Quart.*, XXV (1931), p. 144.

⁶ This ghost seems still with us: cf. F. A. Hirtzel, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera*, Oxford (1900), *passim*. Nollac (*o. c.*, p. 211) points out that Politian's copy of Virgil with notes from 'Philargyrius,' which were used by Ursinus, is now in Paris.

⁷ Cf. on *Aen.* 1.1: *inania sentire VC*.

matrix of non-Servian comment which was fused at different times with Servius: loosely ¹ by the author of the Vatican comment, and — perhaps with a different purpose in view — neatly ² by the author of the Cassellanus commentary. In fact we have Orsini's own statement that the commentary which he was about to print was considered by Daniel and his colleagues in France (*li signori di Francia*) to be that of Servius, because of its similarity with the work on the *Aeneid* published under their direction.³

The relationship between *L* and *V* in *Geo.* 1.1-279, where we have the additional scholia in both manuscripts, has been noted by Thilo.⁴ This has special significance when considered along with what I have already noted concerning the comment of *V* on *Aen.* 1. 1-35. The exemplar from which the scholia in *V* were copied must have had the text of Virgil together with a commentary in the margin, as I have shown. Now the same inference can be drawn from the nature of the scholia in *L*, as Thilo observed.⁵ The commentary in each case was written by an individual who depended on the same or on a similar exemplar for the comment on the *Georgics*. The commentary on the *Eclogues* in this hypothetical exemplar was not utilized by the scholiast of *V*; he relied in fact on some text closely allied, as we have seen, to one of the two branches of the manuscript of Servius. When *L* — and *L* alone — in the comment on the *Eclogues* supplies the text for the lacunae in all our manuscripts of Servius, in passages which Servius must have written,⁶ then we are to conclude that the recension in *V*

¹ The additional notes are attached for the most part to Servius by the phrase *et aliter*.

² One cannot describe an intricate interweaving of two strata of scholia by means of one adverb. A special treatise on this subject would be necessary in order to make the situation clear to the reader.

³ Nolhac, *o. c.*, *app.* III, letter 5 to his friend Pinelli: *per l'altra parte che loro hanno sopra l'Eneida*.

⁴ Vol. III, *praef.*, p. xvii. Thilo recognizes the difficulty in editing *V* along with *L* in that part of the *Georgics*. He lists the passages where *V* has notes that in many cases come from the same source as those in *L*; cf. Barwick, *o. c.* *L* and *V*, while agreeing in 16 places, have different scholia in the following: *Geo.* 1.58, 60, 165, 188, 192. These manuscripts sometimes agree in error; cf. p. 139.16, Th.

⁵ Vol. III, *praef.*, p. ix, n. 3. This exemplar for *L* had the text of Virgil in the middle and the scholia in the margins, just as we have them in the DS codex F.

⁶ Two omissions due to homoeoteleuta are supplied for us by *L* in the notes on *Ecl.* 6.35 and 8.4.

took absolutely no account of the text of the comment on the *Eclogues* such as is reproduced in the DS codex L. On the other hand, certain lacunae in the text of Servius on the *Georgics* are supplied from V alone.¹ This fact should be borne in mind if we are to estimate correctly the character of the scholia in the Vatican book.

(3) CASSEL, bibl. publ. ms. poet. fol. 6, saec. IX/X (= C).

Daniel, *Appendix*, p. 20, *Variae Lectiones in Primum et Secundum Aeneidos Virgilii*; Dübner, *Codex Fuldensis*, *Zeitsch. f. Altswissensch.*, I (1834), cols. 1222 ff.; Thilo, *progr. Naumburg* (1856), *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV (1859), pp. 535-536, *Serv. comm.*, *praef.*, p. xlviii; Thomas, *Essai*, pp. 60 ff., *suppl.*, p. xx; Th. Bergk, *Servii Cassellani*, part. I-V [*Aen.* 1.1-150; 2.1-804], (Marburg, 1843-45); Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* (Berlin, 1879), p. 724; H. J. Velthuis, *Tegernseer Glossen op Vergilius* (Groningen, 1892), intr., p. iii (Old High German gloss on *Aen.* 1.174); P. Lehmann, *Johanes Sichardus u. die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken u. Handschriften* (*Quellen u. Untersuchungen der lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, V, 1, Munich, 1911), p. 114; *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (III, 1 of same series, Munich, 1908), pp. 76 ff.

This manuscript contains 109 ff., parch., each 24.00 × 28.50 cm., 1 column, 31 lines to a page. The title for the comment on *Aen.* 1 seems to have been an afterthought: f. 1a: LIB. AENEIDORUM ARMA VIRVMQVE CANO ET IN SECVNDO LIBRO ALIQUOS VERSUS POSVERAT (= Thilo, p. 2.21 ff.);² f. 41a: lib. II. incipit. Conticuere omnes (= Thilo, p. 211.1 ff.). There are no subscriptions to these books; the folia which might have contained them are missing. F. 62a: occurrat et omnia turbet (= Serv. *Aen.* 3.178, p. 375.21 ff., Th.); f. 78a: sic inultam perire placet (= Serv. *Aen.* 4.660, p. 578.23 ff., Th.); f. 78b:

¹ Cf. on *Geo.* 4.234, 238, 363, 563. The lacuna in the note on 4.238 arose from an omission due to similar endings, *quam . . . quam*.

² The Servian *vita* is therefore missing in C. We should not expect a life of Virgil here, if the DS commentary depends upon the commentary of Aelius Donatus. This commentary began with the *Eclogues* and was preceded by a *vita*. The life by Donatus exists in several early codices (cf. J. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. iv ff.). Accordingly we are not surprised that C reads (p. 5.14) *in praemissa eius narratione* instead of *in praemissa eius vita*, found in the manuscripts of Servius. I am indebted to my colleague, H. T. Smith, for bringing these facts to my attention.

P VIRG MARON COMM AEN LIB IIII EXPL INC LIB V; f. 87a: P. VIRGL MARONIS COMMENTORV̄ AENEIDOS LIBR V EXPLICIT; then follows by the same hand: Pulcrum qui tenuit notam quondam rex fuit; another line, seemingly by the same hand, has been erased. Another hand in small script has written beneath this: bufma guma stumg; f. 87b is blank; f. 88a: INCIPIT LIBER VI; f. 109b ends: numquam aliquis deorum simul colitur (= Serv. *Aen.* 6.830, p. 117.9, Th.). Cassellanus was made up originally of 23 quaternions in all; of these one at least was incomplete. In its present state the book lacks 8 quaternions (viz. II, IV, XII, XV, XVI, XVIII, and II of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, where the numbering of the quaternions begins afresh).¹ The quaternion signatures are at the beginning of each grouping and seem for the most part to be in the same ink as that in which the text is written. Three folia are missing from the eleventh quaternion, six from the eighteenth, and two from the last. The ninth quaternion originally contained the DS comment, *Aen.* 1.716 to the end of the book.² The twelfth must have had DS comment on *Aen.* 2.602, to the end of that book, together with the Servian comment (with occasional D notes) on *Aen.* 3.1-178.

Daniel did not make use of this manuscript itself in his *Editio princeps* of the DS commentary. Rather he seems to have seen only a copy of this book. The source of Daniel's text for the comment on *Aen.* 1 and 2 was Paris. 1750, though this is not the book to which he refers when in his preface he speaks of using a codex Fuldensis for the comment on *Aen.* 1 and 2. Before the edition of Daniel left the hands of the printer, it was brought to the attention of the editor that there was in Fulda a book — our Cassellanus — which was much more complete than the Parisinus. The former is the Fuldensis to which Daniel has reference in his *praefatio*.³ Daniel's friend Bongars was able to obtain a copy of the comment in this book to the first two books of the *Aeneid*. The corrections and additions to these two books furnished by the new collation were printed in an appendix to Daniel's

¹ This may indicate an original Servius, of which C represents a recension in which a conflation (complete for *Aen.* 1 and 2; incomplete for the rest) had taken place with the DS commentary; in this original the comment on the *Aeneid* made up two volumes.

² Thilo's statements, *praef.*, p. xlviii, praeterea tres membranae e.q.s., are not accurate.

³ Cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lvii.

edition; that is to say, the variants from, and additions to, Daniel's text were given line by line. The consideration of expense made necessary this very awkward arrangement. Succeeding editors not only have this puzzle to unravel, but must rely, for the four lost quaternions to the comment on the first two books of the *Aeneid*, solely on the imperfect collation made for Bongars by Caspar Scioppius and Marcus Velser.¹

This is a very important manuscript. In the light of the results of recent research on the content of the **DS** commentary, it is very essential that a new study be made of *C*. The commentary on the first two books of the *Aeneid* in this codex preserves for us, more often than in the case of *L* and *V* for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, or even *Floriacensis* (*F*) or *Turonensis* (*T*) for *Aen.* 3-12, a truer picture of the situation which faced the compilers — or to be more exact the combiners — of the two great bodies of comment on Virgil, that of Servius and that of commentary **D**. As I have attempted to show elsewhere,² there is reason to believe that the great *variorum* commentary of Aelius Donatus, in whole or in part, was to be seen in Liège in the ninth century. Now nearly every page of *C* is illuminating on this point: we find here two contemporary³ correctors, not much later perhaps than the scribes who wrote the comment on *Aen.* 1 and 2. These correctors seem to be working at cross purposes:⁴ one would edit the text according to the text of Servius on the basis of one of the classes of manuscripts of Servius.⁵ The other had a **DS** manuscript — probably the exemplar

¹ Cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lii. Modius was responsible for the excerpts (from *C*?) which Daniel incorporated into the text of his edition on *Aen.* 1.716-730; cf. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius*, pp. 32 and 77. Modius worked for some time on the manuscripts of the more complete Servius at Fulda. As the notes written by Daniel in the margins of his printed copy of Servius, edited by Fabricius, present a more complete text than that of *C*, we have grounds for stating that Modius, to whom Daniel was indebted for the excerpts, made use of another Fulda codex, now lost, which seems to have been copied from the immediate archetype of *C*. See the supplementary note which follows (p. 91 *infra*).

² *Was the Commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus Extant in the Ninth Century?* in *Class. Phil.*, XXVI (1931), pp. 405 ff.

³ Thilo, *praef.*, p. xlviii, maintains that one hand is some centuries later than the other.

⁴ This fact can be gained from a study of the manuscript as a whole.

⁵ E. g. the second hand (Thilo's *C*₃) has changed *facultatem* (*Aen.* 1.20, p. 19.9) to *potestatem*, found in Thilo's codices *BM*; cf. also *app. cr.*, *Aen.* 1.42.

from which *C* was copied — before him, by means of which the corrector is able to amend the text and to supply omissions in *C*. Contrary to Thilo's opinion, there is good evidence for believing that the corrector who writes in Insular script (cf. the suspensions for *con-*, *quod*, and the like, *passim*) precedes the corrector who uses Caroline minuscule; that is, Thilo's *C*₂ should be *C*₃, and vice versa.

At least four hands are recognizable throughout this manuscript. The script is Caroline minuscule with many Insular¹ and cursive traits.² Though the history of Cassellanus points towards its connection with Fulda, there is no indication that the book was written there.³ The fact that so many Insular traits still survive in *C* would seem to indicate that the book was written at a time when the struggle between Insular and Continental script was not yet over, i. e. towards the beginning of the tenth century rather than later in that century.⁴

There is an indication that *C* was copied from an exemplar which had itself the **DS** commentary, in part at least, if not entirely, complete. In the note on *Aen.* 1.382 between the words *vergilius* and *hoc loco* (p. 129.11) *C* has the words *perfusus lucifer undaq*; which are taken from the additional **D** part of the same scholium a few lines below (1.14-15): *C* therefore in this scholium at least does not represent the efforts of a combiner in the act of welding together **D** and **S** for the first time. This original book seems to have been written in Insular script, as has been pointed out. The archetypal manuscripts, in fact, of both commentaries were written in Insular script. Hence the confusion which arose when a Continental scribe was copying from

¹ There are three ways of writing *quod*, the Insular *q* with a wavy line through the shaft, *qd* with a line through the shaft of *d*, and *qd*; so also for *quia*, the Insular form *q* with a slanting bar through the shaft and *qa*. The Insular symbol for *autem* also occurs. The unusual form *uū* 'velut' is found once. The error *vel* for *non* (*Aen.* 1.108) may indicate an original *ū*. These are ancient Notae, cf. *N. L.*, p. 311. On *Aen.* 3.501 (p. 429.19) *FC* have *Hesperia autem*, the Servian codices *Hesperia hoc est*. The error arose from a misunderstanding of the Insular symbols for *aulem* and *hoc*.

² Open 'a' is frequent.

³ 'Einband abweichend, aber trotzdem die Hs. fuldisch,' Lehmann, *Johannes Sichardus*, p. 114, n. 7; cf. also *Franciscus Modius*, pp. 76 ff.

⁴ I have arrived at this conclusion with the help of suggestions from Professor E. K. Rand.

a book of this type. This book itself was also glossed; even explanations of words in the text were included.¹

The following readings² either in the lemmata or in the citations of Virgil in *C* differ from those of the manuscripts of Servius in each case: *Aen.* 1.61 hoc; id, Serv.; 104 proram: prora; 174 silici: silicis; 488 agnoscit: agnovit; 2.30 acie: acies; 114 scitatum: scitantem; 392 facilis (= Donatus *Ecl.* 3.38): facili; 402 credere: (no note in Servius — fidere *codd. Verg.*); 408 moriturus: periturus; 418 undae: (no note in Servius — silvae *codd. Verg.*); 686 sanctos: sacros (cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. xvii); 11.414 inertes (= *C* ad *Aen.* 1.487, inertis *F* ad *Aen.* 11.414): inermes (Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.487).

Supplementary Note (to the discussion of *C*).

BERN, bibl. publ. O 51. This is Daniel's own copy of the commentary of Servius, edited by Fabricius (1586). The marginal notes on *Aen.* 1-2 are in Daniel's handwriting. Many of these are preceded by the phrase 'ex vetere codice Fuldensi.' These excerpts seem for the most part to come, not directly from the manuscript itself, but from the copy which Modius made at the request of Daniel (cf. Lehmann, *l. c.*). Besides these notes Daniel made use of two pages of the manuscript itself, a fact which is clear from his statement in two places in his copy of Servius. On *Aen.* 1.522 and 2.159 Daniel writes that he had a fragment of two pages of the old Fulda codex before his eyes: his words are 'ex codice Fuldensi cuius frag. duarum paginarum videre licuit,' and 'ex v. codice collegii Fuldensis cuius fragmentum duarum pag. prae manibus habui.' Thilo (*praef.*, p. lii) held that we have here the solution of the significance of the expression 'binio Fuldens.'³ used by Daniel in referring to the excerpts of Modius. This phrase is found in a collection of notes on Servius in the handwriting of Daniel now in the library at Bern (*cod.* 189). Should we not rather interpret the words as 'a fragment containing four folia of a manuscript from Fulda'? The two examples which I now present from the marginal

¹ Cf. notes on *Aen.* 1.3 (p. 10.2), 41, 108 (p. 59.19), and on 2.96, note on *adscita*, a word in the comment which needed explanation.

² This list is probably incomplete.

³ Thilo may have been thinking of *bini*, not *binio*; the latter means a gathering of 8 pages or 4 folia. Did Daniel mean 'folia' instead of 'paginae'?

notes in the copy of Servius point definitely, it seems to me, to the existence at that time of two codices at Fulda: one was the Cassellanus, and the other 'vetus codex collegii Fuldensis.' The text of the latter was in two places at least superior to that of *C*:

Cassellanus, *Aen.* 1.17:

CURRUS . . . habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtibus constat, ubi sic precatur Iuno curitis tuo curru clipeoque tuere meus (*leg.* meas) curiae vernulus (*leg.* vernulas) sane.

Cassellanus, *Aen.* 1.97:

TYDIDE . . . Tydides Diomedes, Tydei et Deipseles (*leg.* Deiphyles), Adrasti filiae, filius, qui post captum Ilium ad Italiam venit, quod plenius in XI. libro habes. eo tempore statua cum in templo Apollinis Delphici staret, vi quadam divina ad Corcyram migravit (*et inseruit Thilo*) visa est muros Corcyraeorum defendere: nam eius comminatione hostibus fugatis Corcyra bello exempta est.

Exemplar Fabr., *Aen.* 1.8:

CURRUS . . . habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtibus constat, ubi sic precatur Iuno curitis tuo curru clipeoque tuere meus curiae vernulus. sane vocatur praeterea curina.

Exemplar Fabr., *Aen.* 1.471:

TYDIDES . . . Tydides Diomedes, Tydei et Deipsedes, Adrasti filiae, filius, qui post captum Ilium ad Italiam venit, quod plenius in XI. libro habes. eo tempore statua cum in templo Apollinis Delphici staret, vi quadam divina ad Corcyram migravit et cum hostes oppugnatum Corcyram venissent, visa est muros Corcyraeorum defendere: nam eius comminatione hostibus fugatis Corcyra bello exempta est.

Thilo did not observe the differences between *C* and these marginal notes of Daniel, both presumably from an 'old Fulda codex,' although the first annotation alone is labelled such. It will be observed that Daniel's notes in each case are attached to a line different from that which the Cassellanus follows. I find it hard to account for this disarrangement except by supposing that Modius did not make a copy of the entire manuscript, but excerpted a series of notes under various headings. It should be remarked that another hand in *C* has separated *sane* from the previous word. The text is so printed by Thilo, although he cites a conjecture of Preller (*Röm. Mythol.*, p. 248), *sane*] *sanos*. In the second scholium Thilo prints the text as *C* has it, except for the insertion of *et* after *migravit*; this word we have in Daniel's note, to-

gether with a phrase not found in *C* (*cum . . . venissent*). Thilo believed that the sentence beginning *eo tempore* was corrupt.

(4a) PARIS, bibl. nat. 1750 (a miscellany of which no. 25 contains a commentary on Virgil), *saec.* IX *ex.* (= *P*).

Thomas, *Essai*, pp. 65 ff.; Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV (1859), p. 540; *praef.*, p. i; H. Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia (Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Supplementbd., IV, 1867, p. 1005)*; Barwick, *Zur Servius Frage, Philologus*, LXX (1911), p. 138; Funaioli, *Esegesi*, pp. 18–20; F. M. Carey, *De Scriptura Floriacensi* (Summary), *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), p. 194.

This fragmentary commentary contains ff. 17 (numbered 159–175), parch., 31 × 24 cm., 1 column, 47 lines to the page. Ff. 1a–2b contain Bern scholia¹ on *Geo.* 4.69 ff. (cf. Hagen, and Funaioli, *ll. cc.*). F. 3a: Incipit Liber Heneidorum Primus (rustic capitals). Then follows a version of the DS comment to *Aen.* 1 and to 2.1–711, which is an abbreviated form of the scholia found in the Cassellanus. It is what may be called an abridged school edition, with few variations of any sort from the comment in *C*. There are two additional notes which are not found in *C*. These are fabulae: one (on *Aen.* 1.27) concerning the judgment of Paris; the other (on *Aen.* 1.82) on the *Parcae* and *Eumenides*.²

Two hands were engaged in this book. The first hand frequently uses open *a*. The 2-symbol for *ur* is common with the first hand; the second hand is partial to the apostrophe. The regular Insular suspensions for *aut*, *quod*, *quia*, *tamen*, *tantum*, *hoc*, are written throughout, though they seem to occur more frequently with the second hand. There are no symbols for *et*, *autem*, *enim*, and *ergo*.³ The first hand wrote ff. 1(159)a–8(166)b, the second, ff. 9(167)a–17(175)b. The same person therefore wrote the Bern scholia and part of the comment on the *Aeneid*. There are frequent ligatures. Both hands show a recrudescence of Merovingian traits. This was likely to occur towards

¹ Redaction *b* by Funaioli, *l. c.*, of the commentary of Filagrius (Philargyrius). Thomas, *o. c.*, p. 69, overestimates the value of *P*: many of the 'additions' cited by him are not really such.

² Cf. Bern. 167 on *Ecl.* 4.47 in Funaioli, *o. c.*, p. 153.

³ The book presents a curious mixture of Insular and Continental traits, with Insular characteristics prevailing. There is occasional confusion of abbreviations for *tantum* (tīm) and *tamen* (tīn).

the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.¹ The problem is complicated by the fact that from f. 9(167) to the end (coincident with the appearance of the second hand) we have what seems to be a different book. The ruling in one case is 4 O. S., in the other 4 N. S. The gatherings, in fact, and the numbering of the quaternions tell us the story plainly enough. F. 9(167)*b* is numbered five. This fol. does not form part of the following quaternion, f. 10(168)–f. 17(175), which is regular and is numbered six; it is part of a preceding gathering. The conclusion is evident: a torso of a manuscript written at the end of the ninth century was found about the same period or a little later. It contained the last leaf of quat. V and all of quat. VI — and Leiden Voss. F 79 (no. 4*b*). The person who found it copied from some other manuscript the Bern scholia for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and the abbreviated DS comment for the part of *Aen.* 1 and 2 which was lacking in his fragmentary codex. This was done in such a way that no gap was left in the text between f. 8 (166) and f. 9(167). The folia of the entire manuscript at Paris were numbered in the Renaissance period or later. Daniel divided the book into two parts, apparently because he was interested primarily in the more complete commentary on the *Aeneid*: he was not concerned for the moment with the Bern scholia on the *Georgics*. There was an even separation of the gatherings before f. 1(159). Daniel then numbered this manuscript at the bottom of the first page 'ii.' The codex which must have been labelled 'i' by Daniel would according to this reasoning have been such a book as the present Leidensis, which ends with the comment on the *Georgics* at the point just before the Parisinus begins (4.69).

The signatures are: f. 1*a*: cod. Colb. 3080 Regius 3751 R 6; f. 159*a*: Petri Danielis Aurel.²

(4*b*) LEIDEN, bibl. publ. Voss. F 79, the continuation of Paris. 1750; *saec.* IX *ex.* (= *P*).

¹ For this conclusion I am indebted to Professor E. K. Rand, who examined rotographs of this book for me. He is inclined to believe, for these and for other reasons, that *P* was written towards the close of the ninth century.

² A late index to the miscellaneous matter inserted in this codex preceding f. 1 gives a title: *Servilii Commentarii in Virgilium (a Petro Daniele Aurelian.)*. This index is signed *La Porée (?) du Theily*.

Suringar, *Hist. crit. scholiast. lat.* (Leiden, 1834), II, p. 269; Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV (1859), p. 540; Thomas, *Essai*, pp. 66, 285, 327, and *suppl.*, p. xx; H. Hagen, *Scholia Bern.*, pp. 692 ff.; L. Traube, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), p. 273; Funaioli, *Esegesi*, p. 18.

This book contains ff. 46, parch., 30 × 22 cm., 1 column, 29, 36, and 56 lines to a page. Ff. 1-35b hold part of the commentary of Philargyrius (Filagrius) on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as far as *Geo.* 4.68. Ff. 36a-45b: abridged DS comment on *Aen.* 2.713 (p. 322.19) to the end of that book, followed immediately, without heading, by the comment on *Aen.* 3; on *Aen.* 4 (ff. 41a-45b); and on *Aen.* 5 (ff. 45b-46a). The comment ends with *Aen.* 5.69; f. 45b: De Ponderibus; a fragment only of f. 46 is extant.

Three hands are recognizable in this manuscript. The first hand writes from ff. 1-28a; the second, from ff. 28a-35b (ends with comment of Philargyrius (Filagrius) on *Geo.* 4.68); the third is responsible for the quaternion which follows (ff. 36-43). The remaining ff. 44-46 were written by the second hand. These folia do not form a separate gathering; rather they are separate sheets glued in after f. 43, the last fol. of the final quaternion.

It should be noticed that both the comment on the *Georgics* and that on the *Aeneid* in the Leiden book link up very closely with the corresponding commentary in the manuscript at Paris: in the one case the comments break off and begin respectively at *Geo.* 4.68/69, and in the other at *Aen.* 2.711/713. I have already attempted to indicate how *P* came to assume its present form both before it came into the possession of Daniel and after that scholar dismembered it. We should expect that this abridged text of the DS comment would have originally extended beyond *Aen.* 5.69, where the Leiden part breaks off. No manuscript has yet been brought to light which takes up the comment at this point in the *Aeneid*, although Regin. 1625 (*R*, see no. 8), without being closely allied in script and appearance to *P*, contains an abbreviated comment, as we have it in *P*, for part of *Aen.* 5 and 6. *R* however begins with the comment on *Aen.* 5.734, whereas *P* ends with that on v. 69 of the same book.

The abbreviations and suspensions in this Leiden book are similar to those already mentioned in discussing Parisinus. It is curious to note again that in this book also there are no symbols for *et*, *enim*,

autem, and *ergo*. In the Cassellanus we find numerous Insular symbols, but they include those for *autem* and *ergo*.¹ We find both in *C* and in *P* the Bobbio abbreviation for *autem* (aū). Other Bobbio characteristics in these books are *m* with superscript *i* for *mihi*, *c̄s cuius*, *n̄c nunc*.² The archetype of *C* and *P* may have come to Fleury by way of Ireland.³

This Leiden part of *P* was not used by Thilo in his edition; he had the mistaken idea that Daniel used only the section of the book now in Paris. Consequently many corrections and additions ascribed to Daniel are found here.⁴ One note, which is extant also in *T*, but in a different form, was taken over by Thilo from Daniel, who obtained this scholium (on *Aen.* 4.310) from the Leiden part of *P*. Thilo did not collate the Leiden codex.⁵

(5) (a) BERN, bibl. publ. 172, and (b) PARIS, bibl. nat. 7929, saec. IX/X (= *F*).

(5a) Hagen, *Catal.*, p. 237; *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Supplementbd.*, IV (1867), p. 689; C. G. Müller, *Analectorum Bernensium particulae*, III (Berne, 1841), pp. 11 ff. (pl. VII); Ribbeck *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 229; Thomas, *Essai*, p. 117; id., *Revue critique*, 1879, p. 86; Thilo, *praef.*, p. lix; Savage, *Virgil of Tours*, p. 95, and *Class. Quart.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 56; Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica* (Milan, 1930), p. 11; Carey, *De Scriptura Floriacensi* (Summary), *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XXXIV, p. 194; H. Lohmeyer, *Vergil im deutschen Geistesleben bis auf Notker*, III (*Germanische Studien*, Heft 96), p. 28 and n. 109.

The manuscript at Bern⁶ contains ff. 152, parch., 32 × 28 cm.

¹ The shorthand symbol for *et* is supplied by another hand in *C*.

² Cf. Lindsay, *The Bobbio Scriptorium* in *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1909), pp. 293 ff. Other suspensions in *P* are *nō nomen* (Irish, Welsh, and Cornish); *b* with stroke through shaft *bene* — a suspension misunderstood by the scribe of *P*, who writes *hic*: this was written *hi* by the scribe of Floriacensis (on *Aen.* 3.189).

³ The regular route for Irish missionaries has been sketched for us by Jonas in his life of Columbanus (I, 20).

⁴ Several correct readings are actually found in this book, e. g. *alacres P* and Daniel: *claris F* (on *Aen.* 3.189). ⁵ Cf. *praef.*, p. lvii.

⁶ I was unable to examine this part of *F* when at Bern in October, 1930. The book had been sent to an international exposition of Vergiliana at Geneva. For

3 columns, 24 lines to a page. F. 1 blank; f. 2a: Carmen Octaviani (*Anth. lat.*, 672 Riese), followed by the life of Virgil by Donatus without title (*Vitae Vergilianae*, pp. 1 ff., Br.); f. 2a, *Vita Bernensis* (p. 66, Br.); ff. 3b and 24b, *figurae Graecorum* (= Hagen *Scholia Bern.*, p. 984); f. 5a: Incipiunt Bucolica Vergilii with the so-called Bern scholia (b tradition of Funaioli, *l. c.*). F. 72a, *Anth. lat.* 634; then Aeneidorum Libri XII Hoc in Corpore Continentur Virgilii Maronis. There are a few scattered notes of slight importance in the margins of the text of *Aen.* 1 and 2. Ff. 104a-152b contain the text of Virgil in a middle column, with DS commentary in the margins, *Aen.* 3-*Aen.* 5.852. The right margin of f. 152a and the left margin of 152b have been damaged by moisture so that both text and scholia are barely decipherable. F. 153a, which contained *Aen.* 5, 853-870 with scholia, was legible in Thilo's time, but the right margin had suffered the same fate as those in the fol. preceding. The quaternions are lettered from the beginning of the *Aeneid*, A, B, etc.; the letters C, E, and, on the last fol., K are not visible.¹

One hand seems to have written the text of Virgil and the marginal commentary throughout this book.² Occasional interlinear notes by another scholiast to the text of Virgil are found; they are difficult to read and appear to be of no importance. There are no headings or subscriptions which might furnish a clue to the authorship of the commentary. The division of words is fairly complete in the text of Virgil, but words in the scholia are often unintelligently run together.³ The text of the comment in *F* is much more corrupt than that found in the manuscripts of Servius. A detailed study of the suspensions and abbreviations in *F* would make an article in itself. Though comparatively few in number, considering the length and nature of the work itself, many of these forms have more than usual significance. The most frequent symbol is q: *quae*, although the regular \bar{q} is also found. The latter suspension is used for *qui* at the end or middle of words, e. g. lo \bar{q} , proseqtur. This seems to have been a misunderstanding of the

a description of *F* as far as the commentary on *Aen.* 3, I am indebted to Funaioli. I possess rotographs of ff. 104-152.

¹ I gather this information from Thomas, *suppl.*, p. xviii.

² For convenience I shall note here specific points on the script of both parts of *F*, without attempting to list these separately.

³ E. g., nefastygia (on *Aen.* 4.654) for nefas stygia.

Insular *q* with superscript *i*. One symbol sometimes does duty for *qui* and *quia*, *q* with a stroke through the shaft, which is the Insular sign for *quia*. The regular Insular sign for *qui* also occurs. The number of times where *enim* is written for *autem* or vice versa is quite striking in *F*.¹ There are several instances where *autem* is omitted. These examples point towards an exemplar with Insular symbols for *enim* (†) and *autem* (the shorthand sign),² which were liable to be confused or even omitted. There are frequent cases, besides those already noted, where the suspensions show a decided intermingling of Insular and regular Continental usage, though on the whole the script indicates an apparent attempt to weed out unfamiliar symbols, whether Insular or survivals of ancient Notae: *tamen* (Insular form, tñ) is written tñ, tañ, tmñ, and once we find teñ. The Continental abbreviation for *sunt* (st with a stroke) is found in the first part of *F*; the Insular form (s with stroke) is found towards the end of the commentary. The preposition *post* is written ṗ or p; or p;t — the last may be an arbitrary symbol of the scribe's. Insular influence is found in the forms: dint (with stroke) *dicunt*; qsi (with stroke over q) *quasi*;³ in the error *hi* (from b with stroke through shaft) for *bene* in note on *Aen.* 3.107.⁴

¹ Cf. *app. crit.* on *Aen.* 6.136 (p. 30.18, Th.)

² This sign for *autem* is so like the symbol for *hoc* that there is at least one case where these words are confused. It should be noted that very rarely — and that only by another hand — do we find the regular Insular symbols for *enim*, *autem*, *hoc*, etc., in this book. *F* has *autem* for *decem* (= X) on *Aen.* 5.49, showing a misunderstanding apparently on the part of an Insular scribe.

³ For this form of *quasi*, cf. *N. L.*, p. 226 (from Corbie). The Hildemarus (Hildemarus) who dedicates this book to St. Benedict, i. e. to the monastery of Fleury containing the remains of that saint (cf. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, s. v. Fleury), may have been the *magister* Hildemarus, who was a pupil of Paulus Diaconus while in Italy. In that case this would be a copy of the original dedication written before 850 by one who had originally come from some Benedictine foundation in France. Traube (*Abh. Bay. Akad. Wissensch.*, XXV, 1910, 2, p. 41) conjectured that he came to Italy from Corbie.

⁴ In note on *Aen.* 3.332 (p. 401.5) *F* has urbemq. Here Daniel reads *urbem quoque*. This reading should be accepted. The Insular symbol qq (with stroke through shaft of second q, cf. *N. L.*, p. 271) seems to have stood in the original, but the copyist ignored one of the letters. I am indebted to Professor E. K. Rand for this very interesting suggestion.

It would be a somewhat delicate task to extract traces of ancient Notae from the errors of commission or omission found in *F*. I shall list a few peculiar forms which seem to have been survivals of these ancient Notae; these were no doubt used in grammatical works as well as in law books.¹ On *Aen.* 4.303 we find uu (with stroke over last u) *velut*.² In an error found in *F* (on *Aen.* 10.655), *rex quidmunius* for *rex quidem unius*, there are traces of qd (with stroke through the shaft of d, the ancient Nota) for *quidem*, or of the intervening form with 'm' stroke above d.³ A curious error, which occurs three times in one note (on *Aen.* 12.29), *cum* for *causa*, points towards an ancient Nota ca (with stroke),⁴ but with open 'a.' Another corruption, ml (with stroke through l) for *mihi*, may well be from the symbol mh (with stroke) used in the Verona scriptorium. Survivals of this kind are apt to recur in books written in Insular (especially Irish) script.⁵

That *F* was originally in Fleury (Saint Benoît-sur-Loire) is attested by the note by a contemporary hand found in f. 2b:

Contulit alme tibi pater hunc Benedicte libellum
Ildemarus alumnus et ipse tuus monazonta.⁶

The signature P. Daniel Aurel. is written in the fol. *en garde*. In a paper attached to this book are some notes connected with legal matters in which Daniel's name is mentioned.⁷ It is not clear whether this commentary formed one or two volumes at the time of Daniel. Thomas⁸ observes that since Paris. 7929 does not contain the name of Daniel, this part of *F* may have been lent to that editor by Pithou, whose signature is found at the beginning and at the end of the volume at Paris. Daniel's own statement, however, might lead one to suppose

¹ Cf. *N. L.*, pp. 2 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³ The reading of Turonensis here is qd (with stroke through d).

⁴ Cf. *N. L.*, p. 125.

⁵ I cite Lindsay's opinion, *l. c.*, p. 2. That *F* is of Irish provenance seems highly probable; cf. the error *autem* for *ante* (on *Aen.* 6.366). The Irish (also Welsh and Cornish) suspension for *ante* is an with stroke.

⁶ If this is the original dedication of Ildemarus (i. e. Hildemarus, pupil of Paulus Diaconus?), then we should have to revise our estimate of the date of *F* and put its composition nearer 850, when Hildemarus, then advanced in years, may have presented this book to Fleury.

⁷ Funaioli, *o. c.*, p. 13.

⁸ *O. c.*, p. 92.

that one volume at least was borrowed by one of his friends. There is a slight tone of chagrin in his words, implying either that his memory fails him in regard to the whereabouts of the book, or that some friend seems to have had it in his possession.¹ Was this his friend Pithou? One gathers that Floriacensis meant one volume to Daniel. As a matter of fact, in the list of books in the monastic library which was made in 1552, before the sacking of the convent by the Huguenots, there is mention of a volume which seems to suit Daniel's codex. Under catalogue number 64 we find 'Virgilii opera Servii commentariis illustrata.'²

The DS scholia first printed by Daniel are extant in Bern. 172 for *Aen.* 3-5 inclusive. I have noticed one note, edited also by Thilo, which does not correspond with anything found in this book (on *Aen.* 4.425). Daniel used *F* as his basic manuscript; Leiden. 79, as already pointed out, was used to furnish certain additions not found in *F*.

(5b, see p. 96 *supra*.) Thomas, *Revue Critique* 1879, p. 286; *Essai*, p. 96; *suppl.*, pp. i and xviii; Thilo, *praef.*, p. lix; H. Hagen, *Der Jurist und Philolog, Peter Daniel aus Orléans (Zur Geschichte der Philologie*, Berlin, 1879, p. 13); H. Lohmeyer, *Vergil in deutschen Geistesleben bis auf Notker*, III (Berlin, 1930), p. 28 and n. 109.

This codex contains ff. 133 with the same dimensions as those of 5a. The ruling is 2 N. S. The quaternions are lettered L-Z as far as f. 103b; from there on numbers apparently were used, but that at f. 111b alone is visible. One fol. is missing to quart. L; two folia to the

¹ Floriacensi (usus est) in aliquot locos Georgicon et Aeneidos, si bene meminit, quia is desideratur, et fortasse an uspiam sepositus ab amico, in cuius manum depositus fuerat (*Praef. lectori*). Thomas (*o. c.*) maintains that Pithou's name in f. 1 is written over an erasure (cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lx). That Paris. 7929 (containing DS comment on *Aen.* 6-12) was extant at Fleury in the tenth century seems probable from the fact that a DS note on *Aen.* 8.275 which occurs only in *F* is cited in the margin of a Fleury book, Bern. 357 *saec.* X; cf. Chatelain, *Introd. à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris, 1900), p. 211 and pl. I. This Bern codex was once owned by Bongars, many of whose manuscripts came from Daniel; cf. Hagen, *Catal.*, p. 345.

² L. Delisle, *Notice sur plusieurs manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Orléans (Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXI, 1, Paris, 1883), p. 73. The parchment binding of Paris. 7929 has the title 'Virgilius Servii' on the back.

last quaternion. According to calculations of Thomas,¹ with 24 verses to the page, 10 quaternions should contain the verses of Virgil, *Aen.* 1-5. As Paris. 7929 begins with *Aen.* 6.14 (ending *Aen.* 12.819), this estimation seems to imply that the quaternions of the Bern manuscript (5a) were originally lettered for the part containing the first five books of the *Aeneid*.² F. 125b ends with *Aen.* 12.819. The DS commentary ends here; the next fol. is more recent (probably *saec.* XI) and contains *Aen.* 12.820-867 without comment. There is no author's name anywhere to the marginal commentary. One hand seems to have written both scholia and text; another hand corrects and adds to the work of the original scribe. This corrector³ can be easily determined by the darker shade of the ink which he uses. Ff. 127a-133b are much later (*saec.* XV). They contain excerpts from Aemilius Macer (i. e. Odo Mugdunensis, sc. of Meun-sur-Loire), a French physician of the eleventh century, *de viribus herbarum*, followed by part of the *Liber de Medicina* of Quintus Serenus Samonicus.⁴

This book may well have been a product of the scriptorium at Fleury. It appears to have been copied from an exemplar with text and scholia arranged as they now are in *F*. The lemmata in some places differ from the text of Virgil accompanying it in the center column (cf. on *Aen.* 6.848: caedo [i. e. cedo] dixit pro concido, where the text of Virgil has *credo*).⁵ This exemplar was similar to *F*, probably with rustic capitals at the beginning of each note. The page was

¹ See above under 5a.

² As the commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* is the so-called Bern scholia and not part of our DS commentary, it would be natural to assume that the comment on the *Aeneid* with accompanying text originally formed one volume. The commentary of course had once a separate existence apart from the Virgilian text; that explains the absence of comment on *Aen.* 1 and *Aen.* 2 in *F*.

³ This hand adds notes of Servius and of Tib. Claud. Donatus in the comment on *Aen.* 7.

⁴ Compare the statement on f. 1a, signed by du Theily: 'Ad calcem voluminis reperitur ultima medietas poematis de virtutibus herbarum, quod vulgo Aemulio Macro adscribitur, nec non fragmentum operis Q. Sereni. altera pars poematis Aemulii Macri inserta est in codice 1750 versus finem.' This manuscript of Aemilius Macer — or rather Odo — is not listed by Manitius, *Gesch. lat. Lit. Mittelalt.*, II, p. 547. Manitius notes that Meun is near Fleury. There is no critical edition of the *de viribus herbarum*.

⁵ This scholium was not edited by Daniel or Thilo.

crowded and the script small (cf. Thilo on *Aen.* 8.363, p. 254.1 and *praef.*, p. lx). The script had probably many cursive traits. The evidence for open *a* in this exemplar is convincing.¹ There are many instances of omissions of *i*, indicating that this letter may have been in ligature below the line, in this exemplar or in the archetype, which, if the evidence presented under 5a carries any weight, was written in Insular script. There is strong reason to believe that this archetype was written in Irish, rather than in Anglo-Saxon script.² The following are some of the mistakes made by the scribe of *F*: *a* and *o* interchanged, also *u* and *o*, *e* and *i*, *c* and *e*, *u* and *a*. Of consonants *b* and *l* are confused, *cl* and *d*,³ *br* and *lu*, *bi* and *li*. *Nisi* and *nam* were confused (cf. on *Aen.* 10.705), perhaps because of use of the ancient Nota N, with different strokes for each word (cf. *N. L.*, pp. 131, 134). A rather good case showing what seems to have been an archetype in Irish (Bobbio) script is in the error *sin* for *sicut* (on *Aen.* 11.42). The original must have been *si*, a suspension found by Lindsay, not only in a Bobbio book but also in three other books, one from Corbie and two from Fulda (*N. L.*, p. 287). The immediate exemplar of *F* may have been at Corbie or Fulda, having come there from the British Isles.

It has been noticed that every eighth line in the text of Virgil begins with uncial capitals. This clearly points to an archetype for this text, written in uncial script with eight lines to a page. If this archetype was without a marginal commentary — for it would be hard to imagine our **DS** comment in such a setting — then the next step would be a text as we now have it in *F* with 24 lines to a page, or a preliminary stage with fewer Virgilian lines to a page.⁴ There is an indication of an exemplar of about 18 Virgilian lines to a page in the fact that there is no extant comment in *F* to *Aen.* 6. 238–275. We can picture the situation in this way: first a sumptuous text of Virgil, perhaps in uncials, and the text of a commentary entirely separate; then a series of copies of Virgil with many more verses to the page. Meanwhile the

¹ E. g. on *Aen.* 11.715 *aerius* for *verius*.

² See above under 5a.

³ On *Aen.* 6.37 the curious errors *enei* for *diei* and *soibus* for *idibus* suggest a semi-uncial *d*; the *s* for *i* suggests a minuscule original.

⁴ Eleven verses (*Aen.* 11.687–798) are without comment in *F*, but Bern. 165 (no. 6) has a note here.

commentary, which was at first entirely distinct, was written in the rather sparse marginal space on each side of the text of Virgil. The comment had to fit the Procrustean bed of Virgilian text; hence arose the condensations and omissions which were likely to happen in such circumstances.¹ This comment followed the order of a work such as that of the Aelius Donatus, which started with the *Eclogues*.² The commentary of Servius begins with the *Aeneid*.

Here is a list of readings — for the most part from the lemmata — which show that the DS commentary in *F* followed in many cases a tradition different from that of Servius for the text of Virgil.³ The first is the DS reading, the second that of Servius:

Aen. 2.509 mediis: medium; 554* Trinacia (ad *Aen.* 3.384): (*nullum in Serv. comm.*); 3.221 herbas: herbam; 543 spes et pacis (spes est pacis *Ribb.*): spes est pacis; mutet: motat; 632 inmensus: inmensum; 4.54 flammavit: inflammavit; 390 volentem: parantem; 598 portasse: portare; 5.68* levibusque: levibusve; 96 mactat binas (ad *Aen.* 4.200): caedit quinas (ad *Aen.* 5.78); 158 longae . . . carinae: (*nullum in Serv. comm.*);⁴ 694* et gressus euntis (in textu Vergili): vel gressus euntis (ad *Aen.* 6.49); 6.177 sepulchro: sepulcri; 6.270 incertam (in textu Verg. et ad *Aen.* 3.203, *Geo.* 2.179): inceptam; 476* lacrimans (in textu Verg. et comm.): lacrimis; 559* haesit: haurit; 848* caedo (*leg. cedo*): credo; 7.712 roscida: rosea; 9.268 dicere: ducere; 676 liquentia: liquetia; 10.809 detonet: detinet; 11.386 agros: campos; 12.50 moratum: moratus; 147* quoad: qua; 365 Edonii (et Donati secundum Serv. ad loc.): Edoni; 678 acerbi: acerbum; 709 discernere: cernere.

(6) BERN, bibl. publ. 167, *saec.* IX/X (= *G*).

Hagen, *Catal.*, p. 235, *Schol. Bern.*, pp. 689 ff.; C. G. Müller, *Anal. Bern.*, III, p. 10; Thomas, *Essai*, pp. 96, 286, and *suppl.*, p. xxx; Thilo, *praef.*, pp. lxi ff.; J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (1884), *intr.*, p. viii; Savage, *Virgil of Tours*, p. 95; Funaioli, *Esegesi*, pp. 14-17.

¹ Lindsay, *Class. Quart.*, XXV (1931), p. 145, pictures a similar history for the text of the commentary of Aelius Donatus on Terence.

² Cf. on *Aen.* 6.603 (p. 84.1, Th.) ut supra diximus, referring to *Geo.* 3.7. See Barwick, *o. c.*, pp. 116-118; *Virgil of Tours*, p. 121, n. 1.

³ I have prefixed an asterisk to those readings which have not been noted by Thilo.

⁴ Editors report this reading as that of Servius.

This manuscript has ff. 214, parch., each 32×25 cm., 2 columns, between 29 and 33 (occasionally 13 and 18) lines to a page. The ruling is 4 O. S. Ff. 1-53b contain Bern scholia (cf. Hagen's edition), poems of the *Anthologia latina* (nos. 672, 256, 257 R.). F. 54a: Versus super XII libros/ item euisdem Maronis Aeneidorum libri XII hoc in corpore continentur/Virgilii Maronis praefatio. F. 214b ends with *Aen.* 12.771; the lower corner of this fol. has been cut out. Between ff. 83-84, 85-86, 87-88 are pieces of parchment containing DS comment. The last gathering begins with f. 209, making a trinion for ff. 209-214. The missing part contained 181 lines written in six pages; that is, a trinion has been lost from this manuscript. F. 10 ends a quinion, f. 56 a trinion. The last quaternion number legible is on f. 168b (= XXI). There is no division between the part containing the *Georgics* and that containing the *Aeneid*.

There are a few scattered notes in the margins of the text for the first two books on the *Aeneid*. The notes here have some of the Insular traits found in the scholia on the later books. Most of the notes are adaptations from Servius without additions. The note on *Aen.* 1.41 is similar to the DS scholium found in C:

Oili (olei G): ideo enim addidit Oili (olei G), quia duo fuerunt et ambo furuerunt, sed iste Ajax ingressus est templum Minervae et stupro sacram virginem violavit, Cassandram sacerdotem filiam Priami.

On *Aen.* 2.314 we find the brief note of Servius together with an addition. The DS scholium in C is corrupt. The note in G reads:

Amens: qui . . . aspectis (= S): vel demens pro nimio furore vel propter confusionem somni.

In a note on *Aen.* 2.330 there is a reflection of the D note found only in CP:

Insultans: insultat qui alienis malis gaudet, exultat qui suis bonis gaudet.

There is also an addition to the Servian note on *Aen.* 2.761 in G:

Asylo: templo . . . insequabantur (cf. S). quod autem posuit Iunonis asylo sic accipere possumus ut inimica Iuno laetaretur ante oculos esse propositam [i. e. praedam] quae Graecorum victoriam testaretur.

From fol. 80a to the end the text of Virgil is accompanied in *G* by a column of notes which follow quite closely not only in content but also in the position of each note the corresponding (left) column of scholia in *F*. As we have two columns of comment in *F* and only one in *G*, it follows that a great part of the DS commentary does not exist in the latter. It seems that, at least in the *Aeneid*,¹ *G* is to all intents and purposes a copy of *F*.

This manuscript is Daniel's Autissiodorensis;² its immediate provenance was therefore Auxerre, not far from Fleury on the Loire. There are some Old Breton glosses on the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* extant in *G*.³ In view of the fact that one of the regular trade routes from Ireland to France was by way of Nantes, up the Loire valley, passing by Tours, Orléans, Auxerre, Autun, to the Rhine valley,⁴ it is not surprising that a manuscript which, like *F*, shows strong traces of an Insular archetype should also have Old Breton glosses.⁵ Here are the Irish suspensions for *unde* (uñ) and for *apud* (aṑ), the regular Insular symbols for *quod* — this last with straight rather than curved stroke — and the different forms of *hic*. In Breton script (*N. L.*, p. 216), as a matter of fact, the symbols for *quia* and *quam* are often indistinguishable, as both have q with a straight stroke through the shaft, whereas in Insular script *quia* has the curved stroke. In this respect *G* may be taken as somewhat representative of Breton modes of writing. It is interesting therefore to notice one case where there is an endeavor apparently to differentiate *quamvis* from *quivis*⁶ by adding a curved stroke above the letter q. To the Continental scribe here was a difficulty to be surmounted.

¹ Funaioli, *o. c.*, p. 15, finds that *G* is not derived from *F* in the part containing the Bern scholia. I was unable to make a close study of the two books side by side in Bern during the late summer of 1930, because *F* had been sent to an exposition of Vergiliana at Geneva. On *Aen.* 8.507 *G* has a note not found in *F* (p. 272.6, Th.).

² Autissiodorensi (usus est) in omnem Aeneidem, *praef. lectori*.

³ Cf. J. Loth, *o. c.*, intr., p. viii; *Virgil of Tours*, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. H. Zimmer, *Über direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland in Altertum und frühen Mittelalter* (Kon.-preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. Sitzungsab., 1909), p. 366; H. Graham, *The Early Irish Monastic Schools* (Dublin, 1923), p. 22.

⁵ Cf. *Virgil of Tours*, p. 94, n. 3, for two possible Old Breton glosses not noticed by Hagen (*o. c.*, pp. 691-692) or Loth (*l. c.*).

⁶ The symbol q (with a stroke through shaft) for *qui* is found in Continental script, cf. *N. L.*, pp. 240-241.

(7) BERN, bibl. publ. 165, saec. IX (= T).

Hagen, *Catal.*, p. 233, *Schol. Bern.*, p. 692; C. G. Müller, *Anal. Bern.*, III, p. 7 and pl. III, IV; Ribbeck, *Prolog. ad Verg.*, p. 229; Thomas, *Essai*, p. 286, and *suppl.*, p. xxix; Thilo, *praef.*, p. lxii; Delisle, *Mémoire de l'école calligraphique de Tours au IX^e siècle* (*Mém. de l'Inst. Acad. des Inscr.*, XXXII, 1885), I, pp. 39 ff.; Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhandl.*, III, 233; Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latines*, pl. LXVII; id., *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris, 1900), p. 121; id., *La Tachygraphie syllabique employée a Marmontier a l'Epoque carolingienne* (Paris, 1899), p. 11; Funaioli, *Esegesi*, pp. 16-18; Rand, *Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost* (*Class. Quart.*, X, 1916), p. 162, n. 1; id., *A Survey of the manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 127, no. 64 and pl. LXXVI-LXXVII; id., *Palaeographical Society*, II, pl. XII; Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*, pl. LV; Savage, *Virgil of Tours*, pp. 95-97, 104-164 (3 plates); F. Lammert, *Jahresb. u. d. Fortschr. d. klass. Altertumsw.*, CCXXX (1931), part 2, p. 88; Funaioli, *Boll. Flol. class.*, XXXIII (1926-27), pp. 142-144; W. Köhler, *Die Schule von Tours, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1930), I, 162, 380, 381.

This codex has ff. ii + 219 + ii, parch., 32.50 × 25.00 cm., 1 column for the text of Virgil with margins for commentary, 30 lines to a page (20 in ff. 49-50, 15 in f. 50b), rulings on side margins and on upper and lower margins, 2 O. S. The regular quaternions begin with f. 5; the first two folia form one gathering apparently, ff. 3 and 4 having been added separately. The first quat. signature is on f. 44b (= VI) and the last XXVI (f. 206); f. 214 has no signature. Ff. 215 to 219 are apparently sewed in separately. Ff. 1a-1b: Ergone supremus (*Anth. lat.*, 672 Riese) with a few interlinear glosses, followed by a note in rustic capitals by Berno, Beati Martini levita, in which he presents the book to the monastery of St. Martin for the use of his cousin Arbertus: et diebus vitae suae sub praetextu sc̄i Martini habeat, et post suum obitum iterum sc̄o reddatur Martino (iterum . . . Martino *in ras.*). There follows a *maledictio* on whomsoever should steal the book.¹ Then comes carmen tetrasticon Ovidii (*Anth. lat.*, 2, vv. 1-4 R.). *Ecl.* 1 begins on f. 2a without heading. In the middle of this page is a large ornate T, of Celtic interwoven design, occupying the space of

¹ For a transcription of this curse see Funaioli, *l. c.*, p. 17.

5 verses. The *Eclogues* end at f. 16a; ff. 16a to 53b contain the *Georgics*. In f. 54a is written a poem from *Anth. lat.* (634 R.). From this point on to f. 219b we have the *Aeneid* with the verses attributed to Ovid (*Anth. lat.*, 81 R.) preceding each *carmen*. From f. 212a to the end the marginal commentary has become partly illegible owing to damage from water.¹

There were six scholiasts engaged in annotating *T* at different times. I have already described these in detail in *Virgil of Tours*. I shall therefore merely add here a point or two to that description. Servius is mentioned ten times, not nine, as there stated (p. 107). The additional citation is found on f. 201b (*Aen.* 11.743, praeter historiam illam quam . . . memorat Servius, aliam etiam invenimus . . .). The text of Virgil has since been treated extensively in a Harvard dissertation.²

The monastery of St. Martin referred to in Berno's *donatio* must have been that of Tours. The script is a beautiful example of the 'regular' style practised at St. Martin's in a period of revival and reform,³ either immediately preceding the régime of Fridugisus or soon after. Köhler,⁴ from the standpoint of *Ornamentik*, would favor a date a little later than that originally held by Rand (c. 820), that is to say sometime between the year 820 and the year 834, when the abbot died. This is all from the point of view of the text of Virgil; as for the six different scholiasts who have annotated the book, there is little that is certain. The third hand, found only in the *Georgics*, seems to be that of Berno himself, if the mention of that name in a note on *Geo.* 3.147 has any significance. There is a Berno mentioned as a pupil of Alcuin.⁵ Another of that name is referred to in Paris. lat. 7899, *saec.* IX.⁶ Another scholiast's name is apparently supplied by the note

¹ This description I have taken from that in *Virgil of Tours*, with minor changes.

² M. G. H. Gelsinger, *De Codice Vergiliano Bernensi*, CLXV, a summary of which was published in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XL (1929), pp. 199-200.

³ Rand, *o. c.*, p. 49.

⁴ *O. c.*

⁵ Rand, *o. c.*, citing Bosseboeuf, *École de Calligraphie et de Miniature de Tours* (Tours, 1891), p. 42. This scholiast wrote his notes later than did the first, fourth, and perhaps the second annotator.

⁶ Manitius, *Zur Karolingische Literatur*, in *Neues Archiv*, XXXVI (1910), pp. 68 ff.

of the fifth hand on *Aen.* 9.593. The Liudramnus there mentioned seems to have been the Litramnus whose is the hundredth name after Fridugisus, abbot of Tours 804–834 in a list of *nomina fratrum Turonis* recorded in a Confraternity book at St. Gall.¹

This book is a very important source of many scholia which were first edited by Daniel from this very manuscript.² For the most part *T* reproduces many of the notes found in *F* which seemed to several of the scholiasts to supplement the vulgate Servius, already very well known to them. *T* is often more complete than *F* when dealing with the same material; there are places where *F* has clearly abbreviated the original form of the scholium which is found in *T*.³

(8) ROME, Vatican. Reginensis 1625,⁴ *saec.* IX/X for **DS** comment (= *R*).

Reginensis 1625 is a miscellany of which ff. 67a–68b contain fragments of a commentary on the *Aeneid*, *saec.* X/XI. Ff. 67a–68b have fragments of the commentary of Servius on *Aen.* 12.1–62, 625–725, 725–793. These notes are in one column, 40 lines to the page. This codex seems to have been copied from an exemplar with Insular (especially Irish) symbols, for we find those for *quod*, *enim*, *hoc*, *unde*.⁵ *Quod* and *quia* are confused as would be natural for one copying from an Insular original. The text, though showing influence of schools like that of Tours, exhibits several readings characteristic of the second class of Servian manuscripts.⁶

¹ *Mon. Ger. Hist., Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis, Fabariensis*, p. 13. If the Liudramnus who seems responsible for scholia by the fifth hand is the same as the Litramnus whose name is recorded in the Confraternity book, he may well have written his notes sometime after 820; cf. Rand and Howe, *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, I (1917), pp. 26 ff. The commentary of Aelius Donatus seems to have been an important source for this scholiast; cf. *Virgil of Tours*, pp. 154 ff.

² For important scholia extant only in *T*, see *Virgil of Tours*, pp. 148 ff.

³ Cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lxii, and Barwick, *o. c.*, p. 138.

⁴ The existence of this book came to my attention in the following way. Professor C. H. Beeson kindly showed me at the American Academy in Rome, in 1930, a copy of an original catalogue of the Reginensis collection at the Vatican which was compiled for his own use by Professor F. M. Carey of the University of California at Los Angeles.

⁵ *Quae* is written once with a cedilla under the q and a stroke above. Lindsay finds this in an Anglo-Saxon book of the eighth century; cf. *N. L.*, p. 213.

⁶ E. g. in the citation of Ennius (*Aen.* 12.709) this book has *magis de rebus agentis*, where *magis* is read by *P* (from Tours) and *agentis* by *FP2*.

So much for the Servian part of this manuscript. Ff. 69a-73b contain abbreviated **DS** comment on *Aen.* 5.734 (tartara] amoena sunt loca . . .) to *Aen.* 6.431 (sine sorte] sine electione deorum). The scholia on *Aen.* 6.66-160 are lost. The leaves are of thick parchment, 28.00 × 24.80 cm. There are two columns of 36 lines on each page. There are two hands discernible in this manuscript: one hand has written the **DS** text and another has added marginal and interlinear notes. This abridged text is not unlike that found in *P*. There is the same tendency here to begin the lemmata with the first word in the verse of Virgil that was noticed in that manuscript.

Thilo was not aware of the existence of this book. Although *R* is but a fragment, there are many interesting readings in the text. The marginalia also deserve special study. The note in the text on *Aen.* 5.871 supplies us with some information not found in *F*, our chief manuscript of control, which fails us at this point. The note in *R* reads: Nudus ignota: peregrina, sane sciendum hunc finem quinti Tuccam et Varium (varum *cod.*) esse voluerunt: nam a Vergilio (virgilio *cod.*) duo versus sequentes huic iuncti fuerunt, unde sexti (sextum *cod.*) initium est 'obverterunt pelago proras.' sic enim <in> Cornelianis et in Hebrii (ebrii *cod.*) <exemplari> invenies.¹

A marginal note on f. 69b referring to the story of Daedalus (*Aen.* 6.14) supplies us with some information which is not found in the **DS** commentary. The note is as follows:

Daedalus ut fama est et reliqua: Daedalus Eupalami (epalami *cod.*) et Phrasimede (cf. *schol. Plat. dial.*, 529D Herm.: casamine *cod.*) filius, genere Atheniensis (athenensis *cod.*), artes fabricae peritissimus, invidia ductus sororis suae unicum filium occidit; inde accusatus est apud Athenienses. timens igitur criminis iudicium ne dam[p]natus fuisset, inde ad Cretam fugit. quem Minos rex Cretensium recepit. Contigit autem uxorem Minois Pasiphaen (passiven *cod.*) deligere taurum nefando amore . . .² quanti potiri

¹ Pomponius Laetus wrote a commentary on Virgil which he published in 1487; cf. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 542, who cites Pomponius' note on *Aen.* 6.1 under the fragments of Cornelius Balbus: Et tandem Probus: his duobus versibus, inquit, finitur hic liber in Tuccae et Cornelianis Commentariis. Cf. Nolhac, *o. c.*, pl. III, for a specimen of Pomponius' notes on the *Georgics*. *Hebrius* is cited for variant readings in *Ecl.* 7.64, 65, and in *Geo.* 1.12. Cornelius apparently is cited under the form in Corn. by the **DS** codex *L*; cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, pp. 175 ff. ² There seems to be a lacuna here.

fecisset. Daedalus veritus est iram regis, fabricatis sibi et filio pennis, evolasse a Creta dicitur. Cadente vero filio in mare ad Campaniam venisse et templum ibi Apollinis fecisse et numini (nomini *cod.*) eius pennas quibus volaverat consecrasse dicitur.

There is a certain similarity between the scholium and the additional note in the **DS** commentary (p. 7.17 ff., Th.). The name of Daedalus' father is found in Hyginus *fab.* 39 and Apoll. 3, 1, 4, but the mother's name, which is given variously as Iphinoe and Metiadusa, as well as Phrasimede,¹ is not found in any extant Latin author as far as I am aware. There is another marginal note on *Aen.* 6.121 opposite the note on the following verse. There is no comment in the text on v. 121. This marginal note relates the adventures of Castor and Pollux with Lynceus and Idas (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.699 ff.). The scholiast's statement that Idas possessed a weapon, *quod nullus potuit evadere*, seems to be the only unusual feature of the story as recorded here.

The script of this second hand shows some cursive traits, such as open *a*. The Insular symbol for *quod* occurs at least once. There is frequently confusion of *quod*, *quae*, *quia*, for all of which *q*: sometimes does duty (cf. *N. L.*, p. 243). This suggests for *R* an exemplar of a very early period when a *q*-suspension was used indiscriminately for all forms of *qui* (*N. L.*, p. 244). It is still possible, however, to think of an Insular original which was copied by a scribe ignorant of the suspensions. For *huius* we find *hs* (with stroke) as in Irish, Welsh, and Cornish manuscripts; so *nc* (with stroke) *nunc*, *qno* (with stroke) *quando*, *tn* (with stroke) *tamen*, suggest an Insular original. The syllabic suspension $\overline{q}s$ *quis* is an ancient *Nota*, which survived in Insular script for a time (*N. L.*, p. 225). The script is a good example of Caroline minuscule, written at a time when cursive traits were being eliminated (such as open *a*, cursive *e*). The letter *a* is written in three different ways: the open *a*, the semi-uncial round *a*, and the regular minuscule form. The contractions are fairly regular. I notice but one case of Insular suspension for *haec*. The form *dit* (with stroke) for *dicit* occurs once. Lindsay (*N. L.*, p. 51) has found this in the Anglo-Saxon script of certain Continental libraries, like that of Fulda. The history of the book would incline one to ascribe it either to Fleury²

¹ Cf. C. Robert s. v. *Daedalos* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, col. 1994.

² Because of the fact that many of the books of Fleury passed into the hands of

or to Fulda. The similarity between the style of comment in *R* and that in *P*, which also holds an abridged **DS** comment, might lead one to suspect an identical provenance for the two manuscripts. I am inclined to think therefore that *R* was written at Fleury.¹ Over *centumgeminus* (*Aen.* 6.287) is written *celem nide*. I do not know whether *nide* is connected with the Old English *nieten* 'beast.'

The name of Servius does not appear in the part containing the **DS** commentary. On f. 65*b*, however, where we have a series of notes by still another hand, the name of Servius appears in one note: Servius in commento sexti libri aeneidorum. The excerpt which follows is from the Servian scholium on *Aen.* 6.62. The note quidam volunt dictum esse litus ἀπὸ τῶν λιτῶν may have been derived from the original form of the **DS** scholium on *Aen.* 2.557, where Donatus is cited by Servius. The script of these notes I would call that of Tours or very close to it. There are three lines in Greek on f. 66*a*.² On the other side of the page the master's name is written, schoolboy fashion: Bernardus magister noster ferus et malus.

(9) PARIS, bibl. nat. lat. 7930, saec. X *ex*.

Heyne-Wagner, *Vergilius* (Leipzig, 1800), IV, p. 627; Champollion, *Paléographie des classiques latines* (Paris, 1839), pp. 51–54 (plate); Thomas, *Essai*, pp. 118, 307; Thilo, *praef.*, pp. lxx–lxxi; Vollmer, *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad.* (1908), 2, pp. 54 ff.; Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipzig, 1912), p. viii; Sanford, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LV (1924), p. 219; Savage, *Virgil of Tours*, pp. 100 ff.; id., *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LVI (1925), pp. 229 ff.; id., *Proc. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LVII, p. xxiv; id., *Speculum*, III, p. 405; Funaioli, *Esegesi*, p. 31.

This manuscript contains ff. 200 + ii, parch., 35.30 × 26.60 cm., one column for text, two for scholia, 33 lines to a page. There are 25 quaternions marked with Roman numbers; the second quat. ends f. 11. The fourth is a trinion; f. 42 is pasted in, but no text is missing.

Queen Christina of Sweden, who presented them to the Vatican; cf. *Virgil of Tours*, p. 95, n. 4.

¹ There are resemblances between the script of *C*, which was probably written at Fleury, and that of this fragment.

² The first line reads στίχος πρεπος (*sic: leg. πρέπων*) διδασκάλου Μαρτίνου. The other two lines are corrupt.

The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth gatherings form two binions. The ruling is 2 N. S.

F. 1a contains a life of Virgil: that is partly derived from the *Vita* by Donatus and from the two so-called *Vitae Gudianae* (pp. 60 ff., Br.). This is followed by the *Vita Bernensis* (p. 66, Br.), a poem from *Anth. lat.* (256 R.), then an introduction to the *Eclogues* taken from Servius and the second *Vita Gudiana*. F. 1b-f. 25a contain the *Eclogues*, f. 15a-f. 47a the *Georgics*, f. 57a-f. 194a the *Aeneid*, with numerous scholia throughout the entire book. Between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* there is a farrago derived from various lives of Servius, including the *Vita Philargyrii* (p. 39, Br.). On f. 194a we find two poems from *Anth. lat.* (664, 672 R.), followed by the life of Virgil by Donatus (pp. 9 ff., Br.). F. 196b contains the introduction to the *Eclogues* (pp. 1-4, Th.) by Servius, followed by the *Moretum*,¹ and on f. 197a by a fragment from Ovid's *Amores* 3.5. F. 197b has *Altercatio Nani et Leporis*.² Then follow *De variis huius libri figuris*,³ some notes on Vesper.⁴ On f. 199b are various glosses, for the most part from Servius, followed by a tabulation of the number of verses in each book of the *Aeneid*. On ff. 200a, 200b:

Gerberti laudem replicat liber iste per orbem
Quem solus nostris contulit armariis.

This is followed by *Karolus dux Aquitanie 1469/K. de Francia*.

This manuscript must have been written in the tenth, not in the eleventh, century, as generally held.⁵ If the verses regarding Gerbert, who became pope under the title of Sylvester II in 999, are not to be considered a copy, then this codex was written sometime preceding 999, as the name Gerbertus indicates. Gerbert was educated in a monastery at Aurillac in France; he became Bishop of Rheims in 992 and of Ravenna in 998. Although there is no precise indication which would give us a clue to the location of the library to which this book was

¹ Cf. Vollmer, *Poetae latini minores*, I, 15.

² Cf. E. Duemmler, *Neues Archiv*, X (1885), pp. 354-355.

³ More complete than the collection found in F; cf. Hagen, *Schol. Bern.*, p. 985.

⁴ Cf. Huemer, *Vergilii Maronis grammatica opera*, pp. 112 ff., and *Epistula Vergilii Maronis de cognitionibus nominum et verborum*, pp. 82 ff. For an evaluation of these notes see my report *P. A. P. A.*, LVII, p. xxiv.

⁵ So dated incorrectly by me in *T. A. P. A.*, LVI, p. 229.

presented, it is fairly reasonable to suppose that Gerbert would remember his former associates at Aurillac or Rheims. There are several vulgar Latin glosses in this book which may be of interest to the student of Romance philology. I cannot say whether these point to any one country or district. *Ecl.* 4.45: Sandex est herba qua tinguitur sandiceus (sandimeus *cod.*) color quae vulgo uuarancia vocatur. *Ecl.* 7.42: ruscus est virgultum asperrimum quod vulgo oseria dicitur. *Geo.* 2.242: cola: sunt autem vasa quae vulgo paneriās dicimus; 291, aesculus est arbor glandifera . . . quae vulgo sorbarium dicitur; *Geo.* 3.115: gyros, id est revolutiones et flexuositates quae dicimus cambire; 208, lupatum est genus freni quod camus dicitur a lupatis dentibus; *Geo.* 4.47 taxus: est taxus arbor quam ivum vocamus.

There are several hands discernible in the marginal notes. The first hand, which is responsible for the greater part of the comment, seems to be contemporary with, if not the same as, that of the text of Virgil. The other hands — which may be contemporary or nearly so — are to be seen especially in the interlinear scholia to the Virgilian text. These are especially noticeable in the *Eclogues* and in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. Interesting to the student of the mediaeval interpretation of Virgil are two long notes on *Aen.* 6.298 and 734. These and other notes in Paris. 7930 are of prime importance for those interested in the antecedents of Dante's *Inferno*. Naturally I cannot discuss the nature of this comment here.

The scholia on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* represent a working over of Servius with some additional notes derived from the Servian codex Reginensis 1495 and the **DS** book Vatican. 3317.

The fact that we have here faint echoes of the 'Vatican' scholia may have some significance. The owner of the book, as has been noted, was at one time Bishop of Ravenna. The older manuscripts which contain the 'Vatican' scholia (i. e. Vatican. 3317 and Paris. 10308, the former of the tenth century) are written in Beneventan script. There is no reason for believing that Paris. 7930 was written in Italy, although it contains traces of scholia peculiar to the Italian schools. There is still left the hypothesis that, inasmuch as there are in this book **DS** notes on the *Aeneid* fuller than those in other codices, those on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* may have been derived from the common source of the 'Vatican' notes and **DS**. Many of the additions edited first by

Stephanus and Fabricius are here. I have not noticed any **DS** note on *Aen.* 1-2. From the third to the eighth book there are several **DS** notes.¹ Many of these are of more than usual significance. One on *Aen.* 6.119 gives us a new citation from Varro; others are from Sallust and Naevius. Here also are found the Latin names of the Furiae.²

Several of the **DS** notes in this codex indicate that the scholiast made use of an exemplar which was, in a few cases at least, more complete for *Aen.* 3-8 than is either *F* or *T*.³ This statement it is hardly possible to make with certainty for the rest of the comment in this book. One note however on *Geo.* 2.146 is much fuller than that in *V*, our only authority for the **DS** text here. Moreover the scholium in *V* is corrupt, seemingly from an attempt at condensation on the part of the scholiast.

The text of Servius in this book shows at times affinity with the tradition found in the manuscripts containing the **DS** comment.⁴ At other times there are indications that it leans towards one or other of the different groups of Servian manuscripts. The Irish symbols for *quando* (qno with mark) and for *ergo* (g with superscript o) are used occasionally.

We have in Paris. 7930 what appears to be the comment on Virgil — at least in part — of that great mediaeval commentator on school texts, Remigius of Auxerre, pupil of John the Scot.⁵ It is a far cry

¹ Thomas, *o. c.*, p. 118, the only scholar who has heretofore examined this codex with any care, states incorrectly that these **DS** notes are confined to the first three books of the *Aeneid*.

² Cf. *Virgil of Tours*, p. 159, *T. A. P. A.*, pp. 235 ff.; *Gnomon*, III, p. 192; F. Lammert, *Jahresbr. ii. d. Fortschr. d. Klass. Altertumszw.*, CCXXX (1931), 2, 92; A. D. Nock, *Class. Rev.*, XLI (1927), pp. 169 ff.; XLIII (1929), pp. 60 ff.; W. Morel, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum praeter Ennium et Lucilium* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 19-20; Schanz and Hosius, *Gesch. d. Rom. Lit.* (4th ed., 1927), I, p. 566 (Varro), Nachträge, p. 54 (Naevius), p. 370 (Sallust). These seem to be genuine fragments of the commentary of Aelius Donatus. The additions in this manuscript often contain a reference to other scholia not in the order of Servius but what we know to be that of Donatus; cf. Thomas, *o. c.*, pp. 119-120.

³ Cf. *T. A. P. A.*, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ Cf. on *Aen.* 6.824, *sororis* for *uxoris*.

⁵ Cf. *Virgil of Tours*, pp. 162 ff.; E. K. Rand, *Der Kommentar des Johannes Scottus zu den Opuscula Sacra des Boethius* (Quell. u. Untersuch. lat. Philol. d. Mittelalt., I, 2), pp. 80, 88.

from the tenth to the fifteenth century, but we have in Palatinus 69, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, a copy, at least in part, of the Parisinus. The former was written by the *librarius* of the University of Paris. It would be interesting if one were to find some influence of the comment of Remigius during the centuries intervening, particularly during the century preceding Dante.

Gerbert, to whom we owe perhaps the preservation of this codex, was an outstanding scholar and churchman of the late tenth century. He lectured on Virgil, as well as on other classical authors, at Rheims. His letters show familiarity with the works of the Roman poet.¹ In one of them (*Ep.* 44) he tells us how he sought for manuscripts wherever he travelled.²

Additional Manuscripts of the Commentary of Servius Danielis

(i) MILAN, bibl. Ambros. S. 83 part. sup., *saec.* XVI, is a miscellany, of which the part containing excerpts from the DS comment is no. 3. There are 14 pages, paper. P. 1: Excerpta ex schedis Servii ineditis; p. 16: Fragmenta veterum ex Servii schedis, each part by a different hand. Each of the first series of excerpts is headed *de augurali disciplina, de sacris, de nuptiis, de funeribus et ex(s)equiis, de iure pontificio et ceremoniis flam. dial.* Each item in the second series is headed by the author's name. Thilo has noted in his *apparatus criticus* most of the first list of excerpts; many of the items in the second selection he did not report. Some of the conjectures of P. Pithou and Joseph Scaliger were accepted by the compiler (cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lxxv), who used a manuscript containing the comment on *Aen.* 3-12, such as we find it in *FT*. If these excerpts were made in the library of Daniel by some one interested in the antiquities of Rome, the collection at Milan probably represents, as Thilo conjectured (*Rhein. Mus.*, XIV, p. 542), an emended copy of the original selection.

(ii) ROME, Vatican. 3252, *saec.* IX/X, an important book for the text of the *Appendix Vergiliana* (cf. Vollmer, *Sitzb. d. Bay. Akad.*, 1908, p. 9). This manuscript is written not in 'Lombardic' but in Caroline minuscule script (cf. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 28, n. 1). It has not been noticed before that there are some notes from the DS commentary

¹ Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. lat. Lit. Mittelalt.*, II, p. 738.

² Cf. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), p. 70.

in f. 2b of this codex, following the Servian introduction to the *Aeneid* (p. 3.22, Th.). These notes serve to complete the information given by Servius regarding the verses intentionally omitted by Virgil. Two of these consist of several verses. On *Aen.* 3.204 this manuscript furnishes an additional support to *F* for the text: *Maleaeque sonantia Masvicius et Vatican.* 3252: *male equisonantia F*; *pariterque Daniel et Vatican.*: *paterque F*; *pulsamur Daniel et Vatican.*: *pulsamus F*; *saevis F (et Vatican., m. 1, ut videtur)*: *ventis Vatican. in ras.* The other note gives the omitted verses as reported by *FGT* on *Aen.* 6.241 (p. 52.12-17, Th.).

(iii) LONDON, Brit. Mus., Harleian. 2680, parch., written in 1478 by Petrus de Montagnana for the use of the *doctores canonici* in the monastery of St. John in *viridario Paduae*. The text of Servius follows that of one of the two classes of manuscripts which had most influence in Italy. All or nearly all of the additions from Vaticanus 3317 are in this codex. This manuscript supplies the lacuna in the preface of Servius to the *Aeneid*, as is the case in many late Italian books.

(iv) MONTPELLIER, bibl. de l'école de méd., 253, *saec.* IX/X, contains the poems of Virgil with scholia of about the same period or later. Some of the marginal comment agrees to some extent with the scholia in Bern. 165 (*T*). A few of the notes in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* I have discussed elsewhere (*Virgil of Tours*, p. 161). The interlinear note on *Aen.* 2.262, [Achamas] terei filius, justifies the conjecture of Bergk, *filius Thesei* for a corruption in *C* at this point. Some of the scholia adespota found in Monac. 18059 are in the margins of the Montpellier manuscript (cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lxxxiv, nn. 1-3). The scholia were written by several hands. This codex formerly belonged to Bouhier (f. 1a: codex MS Bibliothecae Buherianae C 27 MDCCXXI).

(v) ROME, Vatican. 1570, *saec.* IX/X, contains the works of Virgil with some of the commentary of Servius in the margins. On *Aen.* 3 there is an occasional note from the *DS* commentary. The comments which I have noticed were derived from a manuscript like Bern. 165 (*T*) from Tours; e.g. on *Aen.* 3.50 there is the following note:

... amandare odii, quia est proprie aliquem sub obtentu legationis religare, id est amovere (p. 345.8, Th.).

On f. 154a we read: Rahingus monachus ex Flaviniaco monasterio codicem sua manu exaratum Deo et Sancto Petro. This is Flavigny, near Nancy.

(vi) PARIS, bibl. nat. 11308, *saec.* IX, contains, besides important material from Philargyrius (Funaioli, *o. c.*, p. 10), the only extant copy of the Epistle of Aelius (EL *cod.*) Donatus to Munatius preceding the life of Virgil also by Donatus (p. vi and pp. 1-19, Br.), which, it is well to note here, is found in two important codices of the **DS** commentary, namely, *F* and Paris. 7930. A fact not hitherto noticed in regard to this manuscript is that the text of Virgil, *Aen.* 1-5 (ff. 68-113), which follows the material from Donatus (ff. 62-67), is accompanied by a few marginal and interlinear notes, several of which are brief notes taken from the **DS** comment. This fact is important enough in itself: taken in conjunction with the evident relationship between some of the other contents of this manuscript with the work of Aelius Donatus, it should not pass unnoticed. Here are some notes on the first book of the *Aeneid*: 1.22 Venturum: ad futurum (cf. p. 20.16, Th.); 25 Necdum etiam: necdum etiam causae argumentae (*sic*) irarum indignationum (cf. p. 22.15, where the text is corrupt: pro causae irarum et dolorum *coni.* Schoell for the reading of *C*, pro causa et dolore); 28 Rapti: in caelum sublati (cf. p. 23.13); 31 Arcebat: prohibebat (= p. 25.5); 36 Sub pectore: in animo (cf. p. 26.15); 37 Haec secum: ita apud se. Mene incepto: mene (me *cod.*) a proposito (cf. p. 27.4, et mene *sic* habet *emphasin*); 37 Victam: veluti victam (= p. 27.6). There is a note (*saec.* XV) on f. 41 which attributes these scholia to 'Donatus' (cf. Funaioli, *l. c.*). This manuscript has numerous Old Irish glosses to the Philargyrian scholia. There are no Insular traits in the script of ff. 62 to the end. The folia containing the Epistle to Munatius are bound with the preceding. The Epistle however is written by another hand. F. 68, which contains *Aen.* 1.1 ff., begins another gathering.¹

(vii) PARIS, bibl. nat. 10308, *saec.* XI, written in Beneventan script

¹ In a note on the *Georgics* (Thilo and Hagen, III, 2, p. 193) reference is made in this manuscript to the glosses of Donatus on the first two books: in I° et II° super libro georgicorum glossule donati. The scholiast apparently has in mind some such compilation as the Brevis Expositio on the *Georgics* on which he is commenting. The note is *saec.* XIV according to Hagen.

(cf. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 215). On f. 3a by a late hand: Sunt multae Interpretationes Probi. Io. Car. Salviatis; ff. 3a-41a contain the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* with scholia; on f. 41b is the life of Virgil by Donatus (fragmentary);¹ from f. 41b-f. 172 we have the *Aeneid* with marginal notes. The scholia on the *Georgics* are written in Beneventan script like that of the text of Virgil. It is interesting to note that the notes here are like those in that other Beneventan book, V; cf. on *Geo.* 4.111: Dicunt alii hunc Priapum natum a Libero et Venere (cf. p. 328.11, Th.); 244 bene dixit . . . fungitur (= p. 340.6), 278 et aliter: Mella amnis in Gallia cisalpina, vicinus Brixiae (brexiae *cod.*), oritur ex monte Brenno (= p. 342.1). There are some scholia like the additional notes in the Servian book, Regin. 1495. I cannot identify the source of some of the scholia by the same hand: e. g. on *Geo.* 4. 110 Saligna, id est curva, ut (*Aen.* 7.632) salignas umborum crates, vel saligna de salice facta (vel . . . facta = Serv. p. 327.30). The notes on the *Aeneid* seem to be for the most part from Servius; these are written by a later hand. It is important to note that part of the life of Virgil by Donatus follows the 'Vatican' scholia which I have just discussed.

(viii) FLORENCE, bibl. Laur. Palatinus 69. This book was written in Paris in the year 1403 by the *librarius* of the University (cf. f. 266b: Hunc librum scripsit Petrus de Lormel, alias de Alvernia, librarius Universitatis Parisiensis, quem hic finivit cum labore iocundo pro . . . Tourau Domini nostri regis Consiliario. Anno Domini MCCCCIII^o die XVII mensis Iulii. De Alvernia; cf. for the complete note Funaioli, *o. c.*, p. 26). This is an *édition de luxe* of Virgil with commentary, together with two lives of the poet, one of which is a conflation of the life by Donatus with that of Servius. The additional notes which are found in Paris. 7930 (*saec.* X/XI), new citations in fact of Naevius and of Varro, are also in Palat. 69. I will give the variant readings from this book for the two citations; cf. for Varro *T. A. P. A.*, LVI (1925), 235 ff.: 1.7 iste] ipse; 1.8 tamen quidam] quidam tamen; 236.10 et . . . assignatur] et celum VII zonas habere unde de Orpheo theologia signatur. Variants for the citation from Naevius are: p. 236.23 dicitur] inducitur, 237.2 unde . . . significat] unde reliquit aut mandavit signum. The citation from Sallust is also found in this

¹ This 'life' consists of a few excerpts based on Donatus' *vita* (M. Lauer, in a letter dated 27 Oct. 1932).

book, which however omits *est* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 232). On *Aen.* 6.375 the note recording what are presumably the Latin names of the Eumenides is also in this codex; cf. *ibid.*, p. 238.6 autem] *om. Palat.*; 1.7 Pecmentis] *pegmentis*.¹

There is a note on *Aen.* 1.15 which is quite like the additional scholium which is found in the margin of Monac. 6394, an important manuscript of Servius.

Fertur bene dixit, ne videatur fabulosas res approbari. Saturnus enim filium suum Iovem fugiens, Iunonem filiam suam per loca omnia sociam habuit; tandem veniens ad Africam commendavit eam nymphis ad nutriendum, unde dicitur Carthaginem plus omnibus civitatibus dilexisse.

(ix) PARIS, bibl. nat. 7965 is a fifteenth-century book which contains much of the DS commentary throughout the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. These additional notes are often found in the margin of the text of Servius. As Thomas has noted (*o. c.*, pp. 26–30; cf. Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV, 1859, pp. 535 ff.), this book contains many scholia which are found in *V*. Thilo's conjectural reading on *Geo.* 4.563 (p. 360.1) *illic sepultum* is found in the Paris codex. The initials are beautifully done in variegated colors. It is well to state that this Italian manuscript follows in its Servian text the tradition usually followed by books of Servius of Italian provenance (cf. on *Aen.* 1.20 facultatem] potestatem).

(x) PARIS, bibl. nat. 16237 is a copy of 7965. On *Geo.* 2.522 both manuscripts read *familiaris Virgilio figura* — a reading which Thilo offers as an emendation. Another book of this period is PARISINUS 7966, containing many additions from the 'Vatican' scholia. The text of Servius in the codex is like that of Paris. 7965, just described. The 'Vatican' notes, which are frequently written in the margin, sometimes present readings different from those found in *V*: on *Geo.* 2.449 amore corpore] amaro cortice (from Ennius). The text seems corrupt here: *amaro* was read by Ursinus, the first editor of the scholia, from *V* (1587).

Other manuscripts of the fifteenth century containing some of the DS commentary or with supplementary notes which are not found in

¹ For the note on Eumenides in *Palatinus* I am indebted to Miss Adele Kibre, who kindly examined the manuscript while she was at the American Academy at Rome.

any of the older codices of Servius are DRESDEN, bibl. reg. D 136; BOLOGNA, bibl. S. Salvatoris 90; ROME, Vatican. Ottob. 1290; PARIS, bibl. de S. Genev. Y. b. 1; bibl. de l'Arsenal 899; bibl. Mazarin. L 24. These have been noted by Thilo (*praef.*, p. xci). From the Dresden codex many of the so-called 'Italian additions' have been printed by Thilo in the apparatus of his edition (on *Aen.* 1-5). Neither the Dresden nor the other fifteenth-century manuscripts in the accompanying list have been examined by me.¹

I wish to add a few remarks on the external evidence so far adduced for the existence of a commentary separate from that of the vulgate Servius. There seem to have been two distinct parts to this original commentary; whether the work was in this state before it was fused with Servius or not, it would be difficult to determine. The first part is connected with the Irish tradition: the marginal scholiast in Bern. 363 on *Geo.* 2.4 was aware of the existence of a commentary by Donatus on all the works of Virgil. He had seen it at Liège.² Another scholiast in the same manuscript writes a note in which he indicates that he knew of two comments to a passage in the *Eclogues* (2, 31),³ one by Servius, the other by Donatus. Paris. 11308 (see under 'additional manuscripts'), containing the dedicatory Epistle of Donatus to Munatius, has Irish glosses; moreover, this codex has some brief DS notes to the first book of the *Aeneid*. The first part of the original comment then seems to have comprised the scholia on the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* book 1 (and perhaps 2, cf. Cassellanus, no. 3). The manuscripts of this part are chiefly from N. France: Limoges

¹ Except where specifically stated to the contrary, all the manuscripts which I have discussed in this article I have personally studied. I have availed myself of careful collations of some of these which were made from rotographs by H. T. Smith and G. B. Waldrop, many of whose notes have been of material help to me. Under a grant from the Humanities Fund of the Rockefeller Foundation which was made to me in 1930 by the department of Classics at Harvard University, I was enabled to visit many European libraries. Rotographs of many of these manuscripts were procured either in whole or in part. Thanks therefore are due the members of the department of Classics at Harvard who have made this study possible, and to the officers of the Widener Library for their generous assistance.

² Cf. *Class. Phil.*, XXVI (1931), pp. 405-411.

³ Cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. lxxvi, n. 1.

(*L*), Fleury (*P* and perhaps *C*). One, the Vaticanus 3317, was written in S. Italy (Monte Cassino?).

The second part (comment on *Aen.* 3-12) was known at Tours (*T*) and at Fleury (*FPR*); *G*, from Auxerre, has Old Breton glosses. Paulus Diaconus (*hist. Longobardorum*, II, 23) cites from *Donatus grammaticus in expositione Vergilii*. The reference is to the commentary of Donatus before it was combined with that of Servius on *Aen.* 10.201-202. That is a reasonable explanation in view of what we know of the methods of the combiner or combiners.¹ Finally, if we can identify the Ildemarus who presented *F* (cf. no. 5a) to Fleury with the pupil of Paulus named Hildemarus, then we may be able to trace the possible provenance of this second part of our commentary.

¹ Cf. Thilo, *ibid.*, p. lxxv for another viewpoint.

STUDIES IN ARATOR

I. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE CAPITULA AND TITULI¹

BY ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

SCATTERED throughout Arator's *Acts of the Apostles* there are some forty-three *Capitula*, or 'headings,' prefixed to the respective chapters of the text. These headings regularly begin with the formula, *De eo ubi*, meaning 'Concerning that passage in which.' They are short summaries and serve much the same purpose as the chapter-headings found in our *Bible*. There is also at the head of the text as a whole a table of contents containing *Tituli* that correspond respectively to the several *Capitula*. The *Capitula* seem not to have been printed; the *Tituli* appear in the preface of Arntzenius' edition. While collating manuscripts of Arator with a view to their classification, I formed the idea that these headings, though no part of the text, might themselves throw light on the problem of classification. How clear a light this was to prove to be, I little dreamed. Since the matter is extra-textual, it might seem that the several scribes would take liberties with the contents, adding, omitting, or changing at will. But no, they have handled them little less scrupulously than the text itself. A comparison of manuscript readings will illustrate this statement.

A list of the manuscripts used will help the reader to make the comparison more readily. Twenty separate manuscripts in photostatic reproduction have contributed to this study. Of these, fourteen are practically entire; the others are more or less fragmentary. They are as follows:

MANUSCRIPTS

Aurelianus	295	<i>A</i>	<i>S.X, in.</i>
Dresden	A 199	<i>D</i>	<i>S.IX/X</i>
Einsiedeln	302	<i>E</i>	<i>S.X</i>
Monacensis	19451	<i>M</i>	<i>S.X, in.</i>
Parisinus	8095	<i>P¹</i>	<i>S.IX, med. or earlier.</i>

¹ To round out the study of the *Capitula* there are appended three notes, one by Ruth Marie Addy and two by Celia Gertrude Lowe.

Parisinus	8320	P^2	S.IX/X
"	9347	P^3	S.IX
"	12284	P^4	Before 820 A.D.
"	16700	P^5	S.IX, 3rd quarter.
"	17905	P^6	S.IX <i>med.</i> (?).
"	18554	P^7	S.IX/X
"	18555	P^8	S.IX/X
Reginensis	300	R	S.XI
St. Gallen	336 (Vadianus)	S	S.IX, <i>ex.-X, in.</i>
Trèves	1469	T	S.X
Vaticanus Palatinus	1716	$Vat.$	S.X/XI
Vossianus F.	12	$V^1(A)$	S.X, <i>in.</i>
" Q.	15	V^2	S.IX, <i>ex.</i>
" O.	72	V^3	S.XI, <i>in.</i>
" Q.	86	V^4	S.IX

A figure subscript indicates, as usual, a particular hand, e. g., V_1^4 .

The plan of this paper comprises: (1) the establishment of the text of the *capitula* with a critical apparatus; (2) a survey of the findings therefrom; (3) a similar study of the *tituli*; (4) a summary of both studies with an attempt to classify the manuscripts under consideration; (5) some suggestions about possible smaller groups; (6) a tentative stemma.

First, let us take up the *capitula*. Of the manuscripts cited above, three, DEP^2 , have no such headings. In the case of four others, P^1TVatV^3 , one cannot be sure. In the first the captions are not found in the text, but are put in the margins like any ordinary note; hence findings based on the text of its captions are only tentative, to be corroborated later. In the three others spaces were provided for captions, but these were not entered until much later. Consequently they are without value for placing the manuscript and will be ignored in the present study. Several manuscripts are quite fragmentary, namely, $P^2V^1V^2V^3$. V^1 turns out to be the lost portion of A .

Let us first present the text and note the significant variants in the *capitula*. I cite each *capitulum* by the line of Migne's text immediately following. If the reader will cast his eye over the page he will quickly note:

- (1) That there are two well defined groups.
- (2) That one, group *Y*, regularly calls Peter *beatus*; the other, group *X*, at first calls him *sanctus* and later omits the epithet entirely.
- (3) That manuscripts that do not consistently adhere to one group or the other are late.
- (4) That there are only two manuscript traditions; aberrations are confined almost entirely within the two families; what other readings appear do not point to a third tradition.
- (5) That after book II, line 156, the two families show little divergence.
- (6) That the manuscripts of group *X* are older than those of group *Y*.

The groups are:

<i>X</i>		<i>Y</i>	
<i>P</i> ¹	<i>S.IX, med., or earlier.</i>	<i>P</i> ³	<i>S.IX</i>
<i>P</i> ⁴	<i>S.IX, in.</i>	<i>P</i> ⁷	<i>S.IX/X</i>
<i>P</i> ⁵	<i>S.IX, med. (?)</i>	<i>P</i> ⁸	<i>S.IX/X</i>
<i>P</i> ⁶	<i>S.IX, med. (?)</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>S.IX/X</i>
		<i>V</i> ⁴	<i>S.IX</i>

Where the text of any *capitulum* is virtually the same for both groups, it is given but once; where there are marked differences, the text of the two groups is given in parallel columns; significant variants are printed in italic type. Variant readings follow at the end of the respective *capitula*. The solidarity of the two several groups will be all the more manifest, if in studying the critical apparatus the reader eliminates the variants under *AMR* and notes that those in *X*(*P*¹*P*⁴*P*⁵*P*⁶) and *Y*(*P*³*P*⁷*P*⁸*S**V*⁴) are mostly due to ordinary palaeographical difficulties or to conflation between the two groups.

CAPITULA — LIBER PRIMUS

I. 21 (Text)

De eo ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus post resurrectionem videntibus Apostolis quibus usque *ad fines* terrae praedicare iussit signa faciens et manducans quadragesimo die de monte Oliveti a nube sus-

ceptus est; et elevatus in caelum, discipulique mirantes post angelicam admonitionem Ierosolymam per iter Sabbati sunt regressi *ubi* erat Maria mater Jesu.

ad fines] ad extremum *Y group and A*
ubi] ibi *S*

I. 69 (*X group and R*)

De eo ubi sanctus Petrus de Iuda proditore *describit* quomodo suspensus crepuit medius et viscera eius *diffusa* sunt, et vocatus est ager sanguinis, admonens ut, sicut David praedixerat, *alterum eligerent*; et de Ioseph cognominato Iusto et Mathia *Mathias* duodecimus est relatus.

describit] diserabat *corr. to* describit
*P*⁵
eligerent] eligeret *P*⁴
Ioseph] illo Ioseph *P*⁶
Mathias . . . relatus] ipsoque mathia
in duodenario numero electo *R*
relatus] praelatus *P*⁶

I. 119 (*X group and AR*)

De eo ubi Spiritus sanctus in igne *veniens* replevit *domum* in qua erant Apostoli. Qui mox linguis variis locuti sunt magnalia Dei, ut omnium gentium advenae mirarentur quasi suas linguas. *Alii* musto *repletos* esse *dixerunt* cum esset hora tertia.

in qua] ubi *A*
ut] ita ut *R*
advenae] *P*⁵*P*⁶ *omit.*
M mostly illegible.

I. 69 (*Y group and A*)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus de Iuda proditore *describit* quomodo suspensus crepuit medius et viscera eius *effusa* sunt vocatusque est ager sanguinis, admonens ut, sicut David praedixerat, *alter eligeretur*; et de Ioseph cognominato Iusto et Mathia *Mathias* duodecimus est relatus.

describit] disseruit *P*³*S*
de Iuda . . . eligeretur et] *M omits,*
reading verbatim, excepting one
short clause, Novum Testamentum,
Act. Apost. II, 16-18

I. 119 (*Y group*)

De eo ubi Spiritus sanctus in igne *descendens* replevit *omnem* domum in qua erant Apostoli *congregati*. Qui mox linguis variis sunt locuti magnalia Dei, *ita ut* omnium gentium advenae mirarentur quasi suas linguas. *Quidam* musto *plenos* esse *dicebant* cum esset hora *diei* tertia.

diei tertia] tertia diei *P*⁷

I. 160 (X group and AR)

De eo ubi sanctus Petrus de incarnatione passione et resurrectione Christi vel *quomodo* dolores inferni *soluti sunt* praedicans admonuit ut a Iudaeorum prava generatione discederent et baptizarentur; et illa die tria milia baptizavit.

vel . . . sunt A omits.

I. 211 (X group and A)

De eo ubi post adventum Spiritus sancti erant illis omnia communia et unanimiter *collaudabant* Dominum *habentes* gratiam ad omnem plebem.

I. 244 (X group and A)

De eo ubi sanctus Petrus cum Iohanne ad Portam Speciosam templi claudum quadragenarium ex utero sedentem mendicantemque respexit *et negans* sibi esse divitias apprehensa manu *verbo* curavit. Qui exiliens *ivit* cum *illis* in templum et *accessit* in Porticum Salomonis.

Speciosam templi] templi Speciosam
AP¹

et negans] AP¹P⁴ omit et
divitias] divitias eumque A

I. 160 (Y group and M)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus de incarnatione passione et resurrectione Christi Domini vel *quem ad modum* dolores inferni *fuert* *resoluti* praedicans admonuit ut a Iudaeorum prava generatione discederent et baptizarentur; *atque eodem* die tria milia baptizavit.

I. 211 (Y group and R)

De eo ubi post adventum Spiritus sancti erant illis omnia communia et unanimiter *habitabant collaudantes* Dominum *atque* habentes gratiam ad omnem plebem.

habitabant] R omits.

atque habentes . . . plebem] R omits.

I. 244 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus cum Iohanne ad Portam templi Speciosam claudum quadragenarium ex utero *matris* sedentem mendicantemque respexit *negansque* sibi esse divitias *eum* apprehensa manu *sermone* curavit. Qui exiliens *et currens intravit* cum *his* in templum et *processit* in Porticum Salomonis.

beatus] sanctus P¹: RM omit.

claudum] R omits.

negansque] qui negans R

apprehensa] deprehensa R

his] eis P⁸MV⁴: illis R

templum] templum curavit R

processit] accessit P⁷R: praecessit

MP⁸: peraccessit P³V⁴₁

I. 293 (*X* group and *AR*)

De eo ubi cum iam essent quinque milia credentium, Iudaei interdicebant ne hoc signum in Christi factum nomine praedicarent. Qui *sancto* Petro *respondente sunt* contempti dimissique. Ad Apostolos alios sunt regressi quia propter populum eos retinere timuerunt.

quinque milia] vel *AP*⁴
interdicebant] intercedebant *P*⁴
sunt regressi] regressi sunt *P*⁶

I. 293 (*Y* group and *M*)

De eo ubi cum iam essent quinque milia credentium, Iudaei interdicebant ne hoc signum in Christi factum nomine praedicarent. Qui *beato* Petro *sunt respondente* contempti dimissique. Ad Apostolos alios sunt regressi quia propter populum eos retinere timuerunt.

ubi] *P*⁷ *omits.*
iam] *P*³ *omits.*
Qui beato] *SM* *omit.*
Petro] *S* *omits.*
Petro sunt respondente] sunt respondente Petro *M*

I. 335 (*X* group and *AR*)

De eo ubi sancto Petro et Iohanne redeuntibus de miraculo claudi vel minis Iudaeorum Apostoli Deum Creatorem rerum ab initio *laudarunt, memorantes* de Herode et Pilato et rogantes ut *per eos* signa *faceret*; motusque est locus et Spiritus sanctus advenit.

locus] *R* *omits.*

I. 335 (*Y* group and *M*)

De eo ubi *beato* Petro et Iohanne redeuntibus de miraculo claudi vel minis Iudaeorum *omnes* Apostoli Deo Creatori rerum ab initio *laudes dixerunt, commemorantes* de Herode et Pilato et rogantes ut *per manus eorum* signa *facere dignaretur*; motusque est locus *in quo stabant* et Spiritus sanctus advenit.

miraculo] miraculis *P*³
vel minis] *M* *omits.*
motusque] motus *P*³*V*⁴

I. 383 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi in multis milibus credentium unum cor erat et anima

I. 383 (*Y** group and *MR*)

De eo ubi in multis *hominum* milibus credentium unum cor

**P*³ *deficit ad* II. 96.

una qui *praediorum suorum* ante pedes Apostolorum *offerebant* pretia pauperibus eroganda.

erat et anima una qui *praedia sua vendentes deferebant* pretia pauperibus eroganda *et ponebant ante pedes Apostolorum*.

unum cor erat] erat cor unum *A*
offerebant] deferebant *P⁵P⁶*

in] *RS omit.*
hominum] *P⁷R omit.*
et . . . Apostolorum.] et omnia ante pedes Apostolorum mittebant offerebant pauperibus eroganda. *R*
eroganda] eranda *V⁴*

I. 417 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi Ananias fraudavit *de* pretio agri conscia uxore et minoris pretii venditum fuisse professi sunt, et ob hoc sunt pro falsitate puniti cum Petrus dixisset Ananiae quare fefellisset Spiritui sancto *et* non esse mentitum hominibus sed Deo.

I. 417 (*Y* group and *RM*)

De eo ubi Ananias fraudavit *ex* pretio agri conscia uxore *sua* et minoris pretii venditum fuisse professi sunt atque ob hoc sunt pro falsitate puniti cum *beatus* Petrus dixisset Ananiae, quare fefellisset Spiritui sancto, non esse mentitum hominibus sed Deo.

conscia] cum sua *A*
pretii venditum] venditum pretii *A*
fuisse] *A omits.*
professi] confessi *A*
et ob hoc] ubi et *A*
et non] non *AP⁴*
esse] esset *P¹*
mentitum] mentitus *P¹P⁴*

ex] de *R*
uxore sua] sibi uxore *P⁷*
fuisse] *R omits.*
ob] ab *V⁴S*
mentitum] mentitus *P⁷P⁸*
mentitum hominibus] hominibus
mentitum *S*

I. 455 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi *sancto* Petro incedenti per medium omnes aegroti *iacentes* in lectulis eius *umbra sanabantur* ita ut ab infirmitatibus *et* *daemonibus* curarentur.

I. 455 (*Y* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi *beato* Petro incedenti per medium omnes *qui diversis locis adferebantur* aegroti *et* *iacabant* in lectulis *sancti corporis* eius *umbra sanabat* ita ut ab infirmita-

tibus *universis* et a *spiritibus*
curabantur immundis.

incedenti] incedente *P*⁶
eius umbra] suis umbra *A*: sumbra
*P*⁴: umbra *P*²: membra *P*¹
ut . . . curarentur] ut . . . curaban-
tur *P*⁴
sanabantur] sanabant *A*: sabant *P*⁴:
sanabantur infirmi *P*¹

beato] sancto *R*
incedenti] incidente *S*
diversis] de diversis *MR*
eius umbra] umbra *R*: et humbra *S*
sanabat] sanabant *M*: sanabantur *R*
universis] diversis *MS*

I. 515 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi *Iudaei* Apostolos ne
praedicarent in carcerem miser-
unt; quos angelus nocte *perduxit*.
Qui mane in templo, *non* in car-
cere sunt reperti.

carcerem miserunt] carcere miserunt
*P*⁵*P*⁶
angelus] angem *P*⁴
perduxit] eduxit *P*⁶
sunt reperti] reperti sunt *P*⁶

I. 552 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi septem diacones sunt
ordinati inter quos Stephanus est
electus cum dixissent Apostoli
debere magis *praedicare* quam
mensis populo ministrare.

populo] *A* omits.
quam mensis populo] populo quam
mensis *P*⁵

I. 515 (*Y* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi zelo *Iudaeorum omnes*
Apostoli ne praedicarent in car-
cerem *sunt detrusi*; quos angelus
nocte *produxit*. Qui mane (*h*)*os-*
tiis clausis custodibusque ibidem
positis in templo magis quam in
carcere sunt reperti.

hostiis] ostiis *M*
ibidem] *P*⁷*V*⁴ omit.
in carcere] in carcerē *V*⁴

I. 552 (*Y* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi septem diacones ordi-
nati inter quos Stephanus est
electus cum dixissent Apostoli
oportere se verbo magis *praedica-*
tionis insistere quam mensis po-
pulo ministrare.

diacones] sunt diacones *MS*
verbo magis] magis verbo *MS*

I. 586 (X group and A)

De eo ubi Stephanus *primus martyr lapidatur a Iudaeis*, pro quibus *ut eis indulgeretur orabat*. Qui *caelis apertis* Filium hominis a dextris Dei stantem *vidit*. Quem *qui lapidabant* ad Sauli pedes sua vestimenta posuerunt.

orabat] oravit A
vidit] A *omits*.

I. 624 (X group and A)

De eo ubi *sancto* Petro et Iohanne manum imponentibus in Samaria baptizatis cum Spiritus sanctus superveniret, Simon iam baptizatus post magus pecunias obtulit *ut haec facere possit*. Qui *a Petro increpatus* confusus est quod cor eius in felle teneretur.

Spiritus sanctus] sanctus Spiritus
P¹P⁴

Simon iam baptizatus post magus pecunias obtulit ut] magus pecunias obtulit Simon etiam post ut *P⁵P⁶*

haec] *P⁵P⁶ omit*: hoc *AP⁴*

possit] posset *AP⁶*

quod] quia *AP⁴*

I. 672 (X group and A)

De eo ubi angelus dixit Philippo ire obviam spadoni thesauro Aethiopum reginae *et* propinqua-

I. 586 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi *sanctus* Stephanus, *qui primus martyr effectus est*, a *Iudaeis lapidatur*, pro quibus etiam *ut eis ignosceretur orabat*. Qui *caelos apertos aspiciens* Filium hominis a dextris Dei stantem *videre se dixit*. Quem *cum lapidarent persecutores* ad Sauli pedes sua vestimenta posuerunt.

sanctus] beatus R
se dixit] *V⁴ omits*.

I. 624 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi *beato* Petro et Iohanne manum imponentibus in Samaria baptizatis cum Spiritus sanctus superveniret, Simon *qui iam fuerat* baptizatus post magus pecunias obtulit *ut hoc facere posset*. Qui *beato Petro est increpante confusus quia* cor eius in felle *et amaritudine* teneretur.

beato] R *omits*.

posset] possit S

est] RS *omit*.

amaritudine] in amaritudine S

I. 672 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi angelus dixit Philippo ire obviam spadoni thesauro Aethiopum reginae *admonitusque*

vit ad currum. Quem mox levavit eunuchus, qui legebat Isaiam de nativitate et passione Christi. *Cui praedicans visa aqua repetit* baptizari.

et] et ammonitus *A*
 levavit] elevavit *A*
 Cui praedicans visa] cui \bar{p} visa *P*⁵:
 cui praemissa *P*⁶
 repetit] se petiit *P*¹: petiit *A*

I. 708 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi Saulus Damascum vadens *vastare* Ecclesiam Christi claritate percussus caecatus *est*; triduo *et* ab Anania baptizatus visum recepit *et* de eius oculis squameae ceciderunt et post in sporta missus evasit insidias Iudaeorum.

Christi] *di A*
 claritate] caecitate *P*⁵*P*⁶
 percussus] percussus *A*

I. 754 (*X* group and *A*)

De eo ubi *sanctus* Petrus, cum circumisset sanctos, ad Lyddam veniens octo annis iacentem paralyticum curavit Aeneam, et qui ibi erant crediderunt.

se propinquavit ad currum. Quem mox levavit eunuchus, qui legebat Isaiam *ad locum in quo* de Christi praedixit nativitate et passione. *Cui cum evangelizasset iussa aqua repetiit* baptizari.

mox] *R omits.*
 ad locum] at locus *P*⁷*P*⁸*R*: et locus *V*⁴
 repetiit] se petit *S*
 iussa aqua] visa aqua *S*

I. 708 (*Y* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi Saulus *ad* Damascum vadens *ut* Christi *vastaret* Ecclesiam claritate *de caelo* percussus *Christum audiens et agnoscens cecidit* caecatus *triduoque sic fuit* et ab Anania baptizatus visum recepit. De *cuius* oculis squameae ceciderunt et post in sporta missus evasit insidias Iudaeorum.

percussus] percussus est *R*
 ceciderunt] ceciderunt graves *R*
 evasit] evadit *P*⁸
 Iudaeorum] *R omits.*

I. 754 (*Y* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus, cum circumisset sanctos, ad Lyddam veniens octo annis iacentem paralyticum curavit Aeneam. *Cui dixit, "Surge et sterne tibi"; et mox* qui ibi erant *Domino* crediderunt.

paralyticum] *V*⁴ *omits.*
 qui] omnes qui *R*

I. 801 (X group and A)

De eo ubi *sanctus* Petrus Tabitham, quae et Dorcas *dicitur*, in Ioppe suscitavit viduis eam pauperibusque consignans. Qui tacentes *manufacta* monstraverunt vestimenta.

et] *P*¹ *deletes*.

tacentes] iacentes *P*⁶

consignans] signans *A*

manufacta] manu eius facta *AP*¹

I. 801 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus Tabitham *eleemosynariam*, quae et Dorcas *vocabatur*, *invitatus a Lydde* in Ioppe *mortuam* suscitavit viduis eam pauperibusque consignans. Qui tacentes *manu eius facta* monstraverunt *per* vestimenta.

beatus] *R omits*.

tacentes] iacentes *V*⁴

monstraverunt] monstraverat *R*

per] *RS omits*.

I. 846 (X group and A)

De eo ubi hora nona Cornelio centurioni *dixit* angelus quod Domino *eius eleemosynae* et orationes placerent, *docens* ut *pro fide noscenda* ad Petrum mitteret. Ad quem misit tres. Qui primus baptizatus est ex gentibus.

docens] *A omits*.

pro fide noscenda] per fide noscenda

*P*⁴: per fidem noscendam *AP*¹

tres] tertio *A*

primus est] est primus *A*

I. 846 (Y group and MR)

De eo ubi hora *diei* nona Cornelio centurioni angelus *nuntiavit* quod Domino *eleemosynae eius* et orationes placerent, *admonens* ut *propter agnoscendam fidem* ad *beatum* Petrum mitteret. Ad quem tres misit. Qui primus baptizatus est ex gentibus.

diei] *P*⁷ *omits*.

hora diei nona] diei nona hora *MS*

eius] *P*⁷ *omits*.

mitteret] mitterent *S*

ad] at *P*⁸

baptizatus est] est baptizatus *S*

I. 878 (X group and AR)

De eo ubi hora sexta *Petro esurienti* in cenaculo vas cum omnium animalium generibus *ostensum est*. Unde cum negaret comedere, audivit ne immunda *vel* commu-

I. 878 (Y group)

De eo ubi *beatus Petrus* hora *diei* sexta *cum esuriret* in cenaculo vas *sibi* cum omnium animalium generibus *vidit ostendi*. Unde cum *se* negaret *posse* comedere, audivit

nia diceret quae *Dominus* mundavit; et hoc *est ter* factum.

cum] *R omits.*

comedere] cum edere *P*¹: se comedere *R*

vel] et *A*: vel in *R*

ter] tunc *P*⁶

ter factum] factum ter *R*

I. 931 (*X* group and *AM*)

De eo ubi Petrus dubius de visione *legatos Cornelii* excepit. Cum *quibus invitatus* est profectus ad Cornelium, quem ad pedes salutare prohibuit; et cum coepta praedicatione Spiritus sanctus *superveniret*, mox eum cum suis baptizavit.

est profectus] profectus est *AP*¹
ad pedes] ad suos pedes *P*⁶

I. 966 (*X* group and *AMR*)

De eo ubi Petrus Ierosolymam regressus inquirebatur cur gentibus praedicasset. Quibus suam retulit visionem, per quam ostendit quia Dei iussione gentiles baptizati *sunt*.

Petrus] beatus Petrus *R*

Ierosolymam] hierosolimis *M*

per] post *P*¹*R*

quia . . . sunt] quam nec gentibus baptismum denegatur *P*¹

vocem ne immunda *aut* communia diceret quae *Deus* mundavit; et hoc *ter est* factum.

vidit ostendi] ostensum est *P*⁷

se] *P*⁷ *omits.*

posse] *MP*⁷ *omit.*

comedere] *M omits.*

communia] commune *M*

et hoc ter] et iter *S*

ter est] est ter *MP*⁷

I. 931 (*Y* group and *R*)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus dubius de visione *eos quos Cornelius misit* excepit, *audiensque invitationem eorum pariter* est profectus ad Cornelium, quem ad pedes salutare prohibuit; et cum coepta praedicatione Spiritus sanctus *supervenisset*, mox eum cum suis *omnibus* baptizavit.

de visione] divisione *V*⁴

invitationem] invitatione *S*

est profectus] profectus est *M*

ad pedes] ad *P*⁸

suis omnibus] omnibus *SV*⁴: suis *M*

I. 966 (*Y* group)

De eo ubi *beato Petro* Ierosolymam *regresso inquisitio fiebat* cur gentibus praedicasset. Quibus suam retulit visionem, per quam ostendit quia *divina* iussione gentiles *fuere* baptizati.

I. 1007 (X group and AMR)

De eo ubi angelus *ad Petrum* ingressus est in carcerem nocte et refulsit habitaculum, et *pulsans latus* eius secum duxit ubi ferrea porta quae ad *Ierusalem* mittit aperuit; et ibi *se vere liberum* agnoscens Deo gratias egit. Quem puella respiciens gaudium nuntiavit.

ferrea] se ferrea AMP¹R
 vere] vero R
 liberum] liberatum P⁶R
 egit] agit R

I. 1007 (Y group)

De eo ubi *beatus Petrus cum custodiretur* in carcere nocte angelus est ingressus et refulsit habitaculum *pulsatoque latere* eius secum duxit ubi *se* ferrea porta quae ad *Ierosolymam* mittit aperuit; et ibi *veritatem liberationis* agnoscens Deo gratias egit. Quem puella respiciens gaudium nuntiavit.

agnoscens] agnoscit P⁸V⁴
 egit] agit V⁴

LIBER SECUNDUS

II. 1 (X group and AR)

De eo ubi Saulus qui et Paulus per Spiritum sanctum segregatus venit ad Paphum ubi erat Paulus proconsul, et *magum obsistentem* increpans quod solem non videret caecavit; et mox Paulus proconsul credidit.

sanctum] sanctum dominum P¹
 erat Paulus proconsul] erat proconsul Paulus R
 magum] magnum R
 quod] qui A: quem P⁴
 quod . . . videret] quem . . . videntem P⁵P⁶

II. 1 (Y* group)

De eo ubi Saulus qui et Paulus *admonente Spiritu sancto* segregatus venit ad Paphum ubi erat Paulus proconsul; et *cum* praedicanti *magus obsisteret*, increpans *eum* quod solem non videret mox Paulus proconsul credidit.

*M illegible.
 erat Paulus proconsul] erat Paulus P⁷
 praedicanti] P⁸V⁴ omit.
 videret] videret caecatusque est quaerens cui manum daret S

II. 40 (X group and AR)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus Antiochiae synagogam ingressus manu silentium indixit; ibique de eg-

II. 40 (Y group and M)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus Antiochiae synagogam ingressus manu silentium indixit; ibique de egres-

ressu *populi Israel* ex Aegypto per mare et ubi multa miracula facta sunt in deserto, vel de testimonio Iohannis Baptistae *quod* perhibuit de Iesu, pariter praedicavit.

populi] *P⁵P⁶ omit.*
 populi Israel] populi Israelitici *R*
 et] *P⁵P⁶ omit.*

II. 96 (*X* group, except *P⁶*; and *MR*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus iterum in eadem synagoga de passione Christi vel de *sepultura* et resurrectione sub testimonio Davitico praedicavit; et cum aliqui *crediderunt* Iudaeis prohibentibus ne *loquerentur*, dixit se gentibus praedicaturum; et *gentiles qui ibi erant* crediderunt.

ibi erant] prohibierant *P⁴*

II. 156 (*X* group and *MR*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in Lys-
 tris claudum qui numquam *ambulavit*, *credere* incipientem curavit; cui sacrificare voluerunt; quos de veteri eorum supersti-

su *Israelitici populi* ex Aegypto per mare et ubi *diversa mirabilia* facta sunt in deserto, vel de testimonio Iohannis Baptistae *eo quod* perhibuit de Iesu, pariter praedicavit.

Israelitici populi] Israelitico populo
M
 per mare] permanere *P₁⁸*
 vel de] vel *S*
 eo] *V₁⁴ S omit.*

II. 96 (*Y* group and *AP⁶*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus iterum in eadem synagoga de passione Christi vel de *monumento* et resurrectione sub testimonio Davitico praedicavit; et cum aliqui *credidissent* Iudaeis prohibentibus ne *loqueretur*, dixit se gentibus praedicaturum; et qui *erant gentiles ibidem* crediderunt.

gentibus] genti *P⁶*
 gentiles] *P⁶ omits.*

II. 156 (*Y^{*}* group and *A*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in Lys-
 tris claudum *ex utero matris* qui numquam *ambulaverat* *praedicante eo fidem habere* incipientem curavit; cui sacrificare voluerunt;

**P³ resumes.*

tionem admonuit ut Christo *credere* *ent*.

quos *allocutus* de veteri eorum superstitione admonuit ut Christo *credere nunc deberent*.

De eo ubi sanctus] ubi *R*
veteri eorum] veterum *P*⁵
veteri] vetusta *P*¹*R*

eo] et eo *A*
Christo] *P*⁸ *omits*.
nunc] non *P*¹

II. 242 (*X* group and *AM*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus post multa in praedicatione certamina a *Iudaeis* baptizatis pertulit quaestionem ne ex gentibus baptizaret priusquam circumciderentur. Unde Ierosolimis consuluit et beatus Petrus admonuit, *quae* omnes Apostoli sunt secuti, hoc gentibus non imponi.

II. 242 (*Y* group and *R*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus post multa in praedicatione certamina *Iudaeis* baptizatis pertulit quaestionem ne ex gentibus baptizaret priusquam circumciderentur. Unde Ierosolimis consuluit et beatus Petrus admonuit, *quod* omnes Apostoli sunt secuti, hoc gentibus non imponi.

a] *P*⁴ *omits*.
quae] quem *P*¹*AM*: quod *P*⁶

De eo ubi] ubi *R*
praedicatione] praedicatione ne *P*⁸
Iudaeis] a *Iudeis* *P*³*R*
circumciderentur] circumcideretur *S*

II. 307 (*X* group and *AM*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus a Spiritu sancto prohibetur in Asia praedicare; qui Mysiam quoque transiens ad Macedoniam *accessit* quia Macedonem quendam in visione stantem viderat et rogantem ut ad Macedoniam dignaretur potius proficisci.

II. 307 (*Y* group and *R*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus a Spiritu sancto prohibetur in Asia praedicare; qui Mysiam quoque transiens ad Macedoniam *peraccessit* quia Macedonem quendam in visione stantem viderat et rogantem ut ad Macedoniam dignaretur potius proficisci.

Spiritu sancto] sancto Spiritu *P*⁶
accessit] peraccessit *P*⁶
quia] qui *P*¹
quia Macedonem] Macedonemq; *P*⁵

sanctus] beatus *R*
Macedonem] Macedoniam *RV*⁴
ut ad] ut *S*

II. 383 (*X** group, except *P*⁶;
and *M*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus Philip-
pis a *puella*, quae clamabat credi
debere *Paulus quod* servus Dei
excelsi esset, spiritum pythonem
expulit et ob hoc caesus est, et
missus in carcerem cum Sila, ubi
terrae motu his psallentibus vin-
cula omnium sunt soluta; et cum
se carcerarius *voluit* occidere, pro-
hibuit; quem cum suis postea bap-
tizavit.

II. 383 (*Y* group and *AP*⁶*R*)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus a *py-
thonissa* puella, quae clamabat
credi debere *Paulo quia* servus
Dei excelsi esset, spiritum py-
thonem *iussit exire*; ob hoc caesus
et missus in carcerem est cum
Sila, ubi terrae motu *nocte* his
psallentibus vincula omnium sunt
soluta; et cum se carcerarius *vo-
luisset* occidere, prohibuit; quem
cum suis postea baptizavit.

* From here on in *P*¹ the *capitula*,
though spaced, were not filled in.

a pythonissa puella] pythonissam
puellam *P*⁶*V*₁⁴: philippis a puella *S*

II. 443 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus Athenis, ubi a populo seminiverbius vocabatur, cum Epicureis et Stoicis philosophis certavit, et post apud magistratus plura *disseruit* arae quam viderat faciens mentionem, et Dionysius *primus* Areopagita cum aliquibus credidit.

sanctus] *MR omit.*

Athenis] *S omits.*

ubi a] *P*³*S omit* ubi

certavit] decertavit *AR*

disseruit] deseruit *AP*₁²*P*⁴*P*⁵*P*⁷*RV*₁⁴: disruit *S*: dissuruit *P*₁⁸: disseruit *P*₈: *M omits.*

arae] et arae *R*

quam] quia *M*

primus] *AP*⁶*P*⁸*V*⁴ *omit*: primum *M*

aliquibus] curatis aliquibus *S*

II. 506 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus Corinthum veniens *invenit* Aquilam nomine praedicantem; *apud quem* et mansit exercens simul et scenofactoriam artem in qua *erant praediti*, *hoc est*, tabernaculorum factionem, ubi eum Christus admonuit ne praedicare cessaret; et omnes ibidem crediderunt.

Aquilam] ab Aquila *P*⁷
 invenit] *P*⁶*P*⁷ *omit.*
 apud quem] cum quo *P*⁴*P*⁵
 simul et] similiter *P*⁶
 erant] *P*⁵ *omits.*
 praediti] praedicti *P*⁸*V*⁴: periti *P*³: erat peritus *S*
 hoc est] et *P*⁵: *P*⁷ *omits.*
 factionem] flectionem *P*⁵
 ubi . . . admonuit] admonitus *P*⁷
 et omnes] omnes *MP*⁴*P*⁶
 et . . . crediderunt] quia crederent *P*⁷

II. 569 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in Epheso, cum duodecim viros de Spiritu sancto interrogasset, *nec nomen hoc* se audisse dixerunt quod ab Iohanne fuerint baptizati; quos Paulus quia baptismum Iohannis inventuri nomine fuisse perdocuit, eosdem in *Christi baptismo* baptizavit, et Spiritus sanctus *eis mox* linguas varias tribuens supervenit.

sanctus] *P*⁴ *omits.*
 hoc] *MR* *omit.*
 nec . . . se] et non hunc se *P*⁴*P*⁵
 hoc se] se hoc *S*
 quod ab] quando a *P*⁶: qui ab *P*⁵
 fuerint baptizati] baptizati fuerint *P*⁶: fuerant baptizati *P*⁵
 quia] quoque *P*⁵: quod *M*
 fuisse] fuisset *A*: fuisses *P*⁴: fuissent *P*⁶
 perdocuit] predocuit *P*⁵: docuit *P*⁴
 eosdem] et eosdem *P*⁶: eodem *R*
 Christi baptismo] Christo *MP*⁴*P*⁵
 Spiritus . . . eis] sanctus eis Spiritus *P*³
 eis mox] mox eis *P*⁷: eis *A* *omits.*: in eis *P*⁸*RV*⁴
 mox . . . supervenit] mox superveniens linguas varias distribuit *P*⁶

II. 623 (Text)

De eo ubi in Epheso, cum sanctus Paulus diversis modis tribueret sanitatem, septem Iudaeis daemoniaco manus imponere praesumpserunt dicentes se in Christi hoc nomine quem Paulus praedicabat efficere; quos daemon *et responso reddito laceratos effugavit; quod populus agnoscens* venit ad baptismum. Sed *aliqui* libros magicos incenderunt *quinquaginta nummorum milibus aestimatos*.

sanctus] *P⁵ omits.*

tribueret sanitatem] sanitatem tribueret *A*

sanitatem] *P⁸ omits.*

daemon et] daemon fuit allocutus et *R*

et responso . . . agnoscens] *P¹P⁸V⁴ omit.*

effugavit] fugavit *MP⁴P⁵*

quod populus] quod paulus *A*

aliqui] aliquos *P⁶*; et quidem *P⁵*; quidam *P⁴*

quinquaginta . . . aestimatos] *P⁵ omits.*

II. 688 (Text)

De eo ubi Ephesi *contra sanctum Paulum* Demetrius argentarius qui Dianae aedes faciebat argenteas seditionem concitavit. Post cuius allocutionem ad theatrum irati pariter cucurrerunt, ubi nihil praevaluit *strepitus insanorum*.

contra . . . Paulum] comitibus sancti Pauli *P⁵*

contra] com *P⁴*

argenteas] argente argenteas *P⁸*

irati] ira *P⁸*; ire *A*

cucurrerunt] occurrerunt *A*

praevaluit] fuit *P⁵*; *P⁴ omits.*

strepitus] crepitus *AP⁸RV⁴₁*

insanorum] insanatorum *P¹P⁸V⁴*

II. 753 (Text *)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in Troia in cenaculo usque ad noctem praedicans lampades fecit incendi; ibique Eutychus adolescens dormiens in fenestra cecidit de tertio cenaculo et imo mortuus est repertus. In quo

* *V¹(A)V² begin here.*

Paulus incubuit dicens animam eius intra ipsum esse; et *resuscitatus* puer ubi Paulus docebat ad primum est cenaculum revocatus.

in Troia] introivit *R*

imo] *RV*¹(*A*) *omit*: immo *V*₁⁴: in imo *P*³*P*⁶

et imo] immo *P*⁸: immo et *P*⁷: et ī *V*²

In quo] de quo *P*⁶*P*⁸ incubuit] recubuit *S* ubi] ibi *P*⁴

resuscitatus] resuscitans *S*: resuscitur *V*¹*V*²

docebat] praedicabat *P*⁶: iacebat *V*¹

primum] premium *P*⁴*P*⁶ cenaculum] caenaculi *P*⁴*P*⁵

II. 826 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in litore maioribus natu ex Asia convocatis valedixit plurima allocutus et admonens, significans quia annis tribus eis *continuis* praedicasset, dicens se Ierosolymam iturum, et plura passurum, vel *quod* ultra eum non viderent, admonens eleemosynam fieri; moxque genu posito orans turbis lacrimantibus est profectus; quibus dato osculo perrexit ad navem.

significans quia] significans quod *M*: significans *P*⁵: significansque *V*²

continuis] *P*⁴*P*⁵ *omit*.

praedicasset] praedicasse *P*⁵

se] *P*⁶ *omits*: sed *V*²

vel quod] vel quia *P*⁴*P*⁵*V*¹

II. 913 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus a Iudaeis in templo Ierosolymis tentus est. Quibus cupientibus eum interficere tribunus eripuit iniectis duabus catenis. Qui Hebraice allocutus est qua fuerit ad Dominum ratione conversus; et cum dixisset *quia* iussisset ei inde discedere et gentibus praedicare, clamaverunt debere eum *tolli ne viveret*; et vestimenta sua in aera vel pulverem iactaverunt, vel de quaestione quae ab orta est de contrarietate verborum.

tentus est] territatus est et flagellatus *R*

interficere] in ore *R*

iniectis] innectus *R*

et cum . . . praedicare] et cum dixisset gentibus se praedicatur *R*

quia] quod *P*⁴*P*⁵

tolli] *P*⁷*V*⁴ *omit*.

ne viveret et] ne vivere et *P*⁶*P*⁷*P*⁸*S* (ut) *V*¹*V*²*V*⁴

ne] neque *S*

II. 992 (Text *)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in castris tortus et flagellis est caesus. Contra quem Iudaei quadraginta coniuraverunt ne comederent *aut* biberent priusquam occiderent Paulum euntem ad tribunum Lysiam. Quod *cum prodidisset propinquus Pauli, nocte a tribuno* missus est Caesaream ad Felicem praesidem, ubi causam dixit cum Iudaeis et oratore eorum et postea apud Festum successorem *a quo* appellavit ad Caesarem; vinc-tum enim eum Felix *servari* fecerat successori.

* *P*⁸ *deficit abhinc.*

comederent] manducarent *V*¹

euntem ad tribunum] ad tribunum euntem *S*

prodidisset . . . propinquus] *P*⁵ *omits.*

Pauli] Paulus *P*⁵

cum Iudaeis] de Iudaeis *P*¹*V*⁴

a quo] de qua *V*¹*V*²*V*⁴; de quo *R*

servari] servare *MP*⁴*P*⁵

fecerat] fecessat *V*₁¹

successori] successerat *V*²*V*₁⁴ (?)

coniuraverunt] secum iuraverunt *R*

aut] vel *MP*⁴*P*⁵*V*²; ac *P*⁸

a tribuno] qua *V*¹*V*²*V*⁴; ea *R*

eorum] Tertullo *P*⁵

ad Caesarem] Caesarem *S*

II. 1067 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus sub custodia militari ad Italiam navigans ita ut etiam Syrtes *incideret* et navis instrumenta disrupta sint, quattuordecim diebus pertulit tempestatem ut nec solem nec stellas viderent nec cibum sumerent; qui postea allocutus est desperantes quod ei a Domino nuntiante angelo sint concessi hortatusque est eos ut panem sicut ipse comedebat acciperent et sic ad Melitem insulam pervenerunt; ibi fracta navi omnes *incolumes sunt eiectioni*.

etiam] iam *P*⁵

Syrtes incideret] incideret in Syrtes *P*⁶

incideret] incenderet *P*⁵; incederet *P*₁³*P*⁴*V*₁¹*V*₁⁴

quattuordecim] quatuor *P*⁵

desperantes] desperatos *P*³*P*⁶*V*¹

concessi] concessa *P*⁵

eos ut panem] *V*¹ *omits.*

ibi] ubi *P*³*P*⁶*P*⁷

incolumes] *MP*⁴*P*⁵ *omit.*

sunt eiectioni] evaserunt *MP*⁴*P*⁵*V*¹; invecti *V*⁴; iecti *S*

viderent] *V*¹ *omits.*

quod] quae *P*⁴*P*⁵

sint concessi] interire *R*

sicut] ut sicut *R*

omnes] *P*⁴ *omits.*

II. 1156 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus in Melite insula, dum foco sarmenta congregaret, manum eius vipera tenuit; quem cum barbari dicerent homicidam et crederent moriturum, ille viperam iactavit in focum; quem ita incolumem sunt mirati ut quem superveniente tumore arbitrati fuerant interire, Deum appellarent.

dum] cum *R*

foco] focos *R*

ut quem] quia eum *P*³: ut *R*: ut eum quem *P*⁶

tumore] tu morte *P*⁴: timore *P*⁷*RV*₂⁴

fuerant] quod fuerant *R*

interire] in terra *R*

Deum] ut deum *P*³

II. 1206 (Text)

De eo ubi sanctus Paulus tribus mensibus in Melite insula hiemans postquam patrem Publii priorem regionis eiusdem desperatum vel ceteros sanavit aegrotos, flante Austro *navigans et diversa loca maris terraeque*, praeteriens Romam usque pervenit.

hiemans] Achaiae mansit *S*: moratus *R*

priorem] primorem *MP*⁴*P*⁵*SV*₂⁴

navigans et] navigavit *R*: navigasset *P*⁷*V*²*V*⁴

maris terraeque] mari terris *P*³*V*²*V*⁴: mari terrisque *V*¹: maris terras *R*

A cursory survey of the text of the two groups as set forth above shows that the text of one, probably of group *Y*, is a redaction of the other, and affords little evidence of a third strain. It also seems clear, as Professor E. K. Rand suggests, that after book II. 156 no thorough reworking of the first text was made; from there on any evidence of grouping indicates a tendency toward smaller groups without any maintenance of groups *X* and *Y*. It is also noticeable that with a few exceptions the text is fairly certain until the end of the redaction II. 156; that if we leave out *AMR*, there are few variants; but that after II. 156 the variants are much more numerous.

It may be well to note briefly the aberrations of the more steady manuscripts, *P*¹*P*⁴*P*⁵*P*⁶ (*X* group) and *P*³*P*⁷*P*⁸*SV*⁴ (*Y* group), to-

gether with any possible indications of a third strain, and then to dispose of the more 'planetary' *codices* *AMR*.

Most of the variants appearing in the *codices* that make up the core of groups *X* and *Y* are due to palaeographical or conflational troubles. There are a few that might have some other significance if a manuscript should be found with a second redaction of the *capitula* or an independent tradition. Until such a discovery is made, such variants may best be explained as having crept in from deliberate or unwitting alterations made by some scribe, usually a predecessor of the copyist of the extant text. Such variants are:

- I. 69, disseruit P^3S : diserabat P^5
- I. 417, mentitus $P^1P^4P^7P^8$
- I. 624, magus . . . ut P^5P^6
- I. 672, cui \bar{p} visa P^5 : cui praemissa P^6 ; at locus $P^7P^8V^4$ (et)
- I. 708, caecitate P^5P^6
- I. 966, quam nec gentibus baptismum denegatur P^1
- II. 1, quem . . . videntem P^5P^6 ; *the omission of* caecavit (?) *by* $P^7P^8V^4$; videret caecatusque est quaerens cui manum daret S
- II. 443, curatis aliquibus S
- II. 506, periti P^3 : erat peritus S
- II. 569, et non hunc se P^4P^5 ; Christo P^4P^5 ; mox superveniens linguas varias distribuit P^6
- II. 623, *the omission of* et responso . . . agnoscens $P^7P^8V^4$; *of* quinquaginta . . . aestimatos P^5
- II. 688, comitibus P^5 : com P^4
- II. 992, *the omission of* prodidisset . . . propinquus P^5
- II. 1069, evaserunt P^4P^5
- II. 1206, navigasset $P^7V^2V^4$

Of the preceding variants some probably crept in from glosses, viz. I. 69; I. 708; II. 443; II. 506; II. 1069. Some reveal palaeographical difficulties, e. g. I. 672; II. 688; II. 1206. One, I. 708, probably slipped in from the corresponding *Titulus*, i. e. 17, page 150.

Three show *lacunae*, namely, II. 1; II. 623; II. 992. Two are possibly corrupt, I. 417; I. 624. The passages that may be an echo of

some other tradition are I. 966; II. 1; II. 569. To these may be added a few from *MR*. *AV*³ have none; *MR* four:

I. 69. *Here M omits de Iuda . . . eligeretur et and inserts three verses, with the exception of one short clause, from the Bible,¹ Act. Apost., I. 16-18.*

I. 211. *R omits habitabant and atque . . . plebem.*

I. 383, et . . . apostolorum. *R corrupts the passage.*

II. 623, daemon fuit allocutus et, *the reading of R.*

The preceding passages should be kept in mind in view of the possibility that further study may reveal trace of a third strain in the tradition of the *capitula*.

This survey of groups *X* and *Y* seems to show that the *capitula* were composed before 820 A.D., the date *ante quem* of *P*⁴; that there was a redaction of the first edition somewhat later; that this redaction probably did not go beyond II. 156; that there was some slight conflation between the two editions; that the text is in good shape until the end of the redaction; that thereafter it is much more corrupt; and that including *AMRV*³ there are some seven passages, three in *X* and *Y*, one in *M*, three in *R*, that may show some trace of a third tradition. To these should be added two in *Vaticanus* (see p. 147 below), one from the *tituli*, *Trèves*, Tit. 24. Of these, however, the only one that shows any real independence is the citation from *Vaticanus*. The redaction seems almost entirely to have displaced the original. Compare also the table on p. 156 sq.

So much for the manuscripts that run true to their groups. What can be said about the rest? Of these there are three kinds: the 'planetary' manuscripts, which appear now in one group, now in the other; the fragments; and the captionless. Let us take up the first class. This embraces *AMR*. Of these *A* shows many examples of palaeographical difficulties and a few examples of conflation, but in the main follows *X*. *M* (except at I. 21) and *R* side with *Y* until toward the end of the redaction. From this showing we may be justified in placing *A* with *X* and *MR* with *Y*.

¹ Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*.

A word will suffice for the fragments. V^1 falls into group X with its complement A . V^2 is placed with V^4 by reason of its agreement in error at II. 1206, reading *navigasset* for *navigans et*. V^3 is unplaced, for its *capitula* are later insertions.

Three manuscripts, DEP^2 , have no captions, but they all have numbering that throws some light on their originals. Some of the manuscripts begin numbering with the first line, i. e., they reckon by chapters, e. g., P^5 and P^8 . Others begin with the first *capitulum* and reckon accordingly. Now if any manuscript, no matter how spasmodically the figures appear, agrees with the numbering by captions, then we must believe that that manuscript derives from an ancestor at some remote stage that possessed captions. There would be no point in reckoning from 'Chapter Two' and calling it 'Chapter One.' Now all these captionless manuscripts have numbers and tally with the numbering by captions. E and P^2 are numbered fairly correctly throughout and may go back to a *codex* containing captions. D has only three numbers left, XXXVII-XXXVIII, placed at II. 753, 826, and 913 respectively. It is quite likely that this manuscript did not derive directly from a *codex* containing captions. There must have been one or more intervening *codices* to allow for the deliberate omission of the captions and the unintentional retention of a few numbers, which the scribe of D took down with the undeviating faithfulness shown to be characteristic of the scribes of Arator's manuscripts. The numbering of these three manuscripts affords no clue to their classification, for the two groups are not consistent in their reckoning.

Three others, $TVat$ and V^3 , have captions, but since these were put in much later they have no value in placing the manuscripts. A careful study of the text of these manuscripts has revealed the same phenomena as shown above, two traditions, but with much conflation and corruption.

Vaticanus needs a word further. Though it was spaced for *capitula*, these were not filled in until long after the manuscript was written. The scribe who supplied the missing *capitula* worked curiously. He seems to have taken, in most instances, the corresponding *capitulum* of group X , run down two or three lines to a good stopping-place, and to have stopped there, bringing in some verb from below if necessary, and occasionally omitting some phrase. In this way the scribe filled in most

of the *capitula* as far as book I. 801. From here on, he left the spaces blank. Then he resumed with II. 1 and continued up to II. 506. Twice he injected a new reading:

- I. 624, *simon baptizatus p'ea effectus est magus*
 II. 569, *paulus perambulabat galatiam et frigiam*

For the rest of his *capitula* he went to the table of contents and drafted the proper *titulus* for the respective *capitulum*. In so doing he made a slip or two, omitting II. 826 (Tit. 38) and replacing it with Tit. 39. He repeated Tit. 40 at II. 992 and II. 1067. These vagaries of *Vaticanus* simply show that except for the two new readings cited above the dual tradition holds.

To summarize, the *capitula*, therefore, give us two groups. Group *X* contains $P^1P^4P^5P^6$ and *A*, including V^1 . Group *Y* gives us $P^3P^7P^8SV^4$, including V^2 , and probably *M*, and possibly *R*. Of these *S* is most trustworthy. DEP^2VatV^3 are unplaced.

Besides the headings that are prefixed to the several chapters of the text many of Arator's manuscripts have a table of contents (*tituli*) which runs consecutively. Sometimes the entire set for both books is prefixed to book I; sometimes those for book II are entered between the two books. Except for one or two careless omissions, the *tituli* in every observed instance match the headings entered with the several chapters. The chief distinction between the two types is that the headings, or *capitula*, are more comprehensive than their respective *tituli*. In every manuscript containing *tituli* these are an integral part of the *codex*, being interspersed between the Letters and the Poem proper. One can readily see that these *tituli* may serve as another check on the groups.

Not all the manuscripts have *tituli*. The short fragments in no case begin with the first line of book I; hence no *tituli* appear. Several of the later *codices* have no *tituli*, namely, *ADMRS*. The following manuscripts have *tituli*: $EP^1P^3P^4P^5P^6P^7P^8TVatV^4$. The same groups seem to appear here as in the *capitula*. Group *X* uses *sanctus* of Peter, and group *Y* *beatus*. Group *Y* applies the epithet *Apóstolus* to Paul; group *X* does not. The text with critical apparatus follows:

TITULI — LIBER PRIMUS

1. (<i>X</i> * group except <i>P</i> ⁶)	1. (<i>Y</i> group and <i>P</i> ⁶)
De ascensione <i>Domini</i>	De ascensione <i>Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i>
<hr/>	
*Arntzenius followed this tradition.	Domini] <i>P</i> ⁶ <i>V</i> ⁴ omit.
2. (<i>X</i> group)	2. (<i>Y</i> group)
De allocutione <i>sancti</i> Petri et Mathia duodecimo relato	De allocutione <i>beati</i> Petri et Mathia duodecimo relato
<hr/>	duodecimo relato] a duodecimo relato <i>P</i> ⁸
3. (<i>X</i> group)	3. (<i>Y</i> group)
De adventu Spiritus sancti in igne super Apostolos	De adventu Spiritus sancti in igne super Apostolos <i>descendentis</i>
4. (<i>X</i> group)	4. (<i>Y</i> group)
De sermone <i>sancti</i> Petri ad baptismum <i>hortantis</i>	De allocutione <i>beati</i> Petri ad baptismum <i>cohortantis</i>
<hr/>	
sancti] <i>P</i> ¹ <i>P</i> ⁴ omit.	
5. (<i>X</i> group)	5. (<i>Y</i> group)
De eo ubi erant illis omnia communia	De eo ubi erant illis omnia communia
6. (<i>X</i> group)	6. (<i>Y</i> group)
De claudo a <i>sancto</i> Petro ad Portam Speciosam curato	De claudo <i>quadragenario</i> a <i>beato</i> Petro ad Portam Speciosam curato
7. (<i>X</i> group)	7. (<i>Y</i> group)
De interminatione Iudaeorum qui Petro <i>respondente sunt contempti</i>	De interminatione Iudaeorum qui <i>beato</i> Petro <i>sunt respondente contempti</i>

*8. (X group)

De eo ubi omnes Apostoli gratias
Deo retulerunt

*P⁶ omits.

9. (X group)

De eo ubi *erant credentium* cor
unum et anima una

10. (X group)

De Anania et Saphira

11. (X group)

De eo ubi *umbra* Petri sanabantur
infirmi

12. (X group, except P¹)

De eo ubi in templo Apostoli qui
in carcerem missi *erant* sunt re-
perti

qui . . . reperti] in carcere missi sunt
P⁶P⁶ (erant)
carcerem] carcere P⁵P⁶

13. (X group)

De eo ubi ab Apostolis septem
diacones ordinati sunt

diacones] diaconi P¹

*8. (Y group)

De eo ubi omnes Apostoli Deo
gratias retulerunt

*T omits.

9. (Y group)

De eo ubi *erat credentibus* cor et
anima una

erat] erant V¹
credentibus] credentium P⁸V⁴
cor] cor unum T

10. (Y group)

De Anania et Saphira

11. (Y group)

De eo ubi *in umbra corporis beati*
Petri *omnes* sanabantur infirmi

in] P⁷ omits.

12. (Y group and P¹)

De eo ubi in templo Apostoli qui
in carcerem missi fuerant sunt
reperi

De eo] T omits.
in templo Apostoli] Apostoli in
templo EVat
carcerem] carcere P¹

13. (Y group)

De eo ubi ab Apostolis septem
sunt diacones ordinati

septem sunt] sunt septem Vat
diacones] diaconi EP³TVat
ab] V⁴ inserts: E omits.

14. (X group)

De passione sancti Stephani

14. (Y group)

De passione sancti *protomartyris* Stephani

15. (X group)

De eo ubi Simon pecuniam offer-
ens Petro *increpante confusus est*

15. (Y group)

De eo ubi Simon pecuniam offer-
ens *beato* Petro *est increpante con-*
*fusus*De eo] *T omits.*Simon] Simon magus *Vat*

16. (X group)

De Philippo et eunucho

16. (Y* group)

De Philippo et eunucho

**Vat omits.*

17. (X group)

De Saulo cum *pergeret Damascum*
caecitate percusso

17. (Y group)

De Saulo cum *proficisceretur ad*
Damascum caecitate percussopergeret] peregere *P*¹Damascum] dasinascum *P*¹: Da-
masco *P*⁶ad] *T omits.*percusso] percuss' *P*³

18. (X group)

De paralytico a *sancto* Petro in
Lydda curato

18. (Y group)

De paralytico a *beato* Petro in
Lydde curatoin Lydde] in lecto *E*

19. (X group)

De Tabitha a *sancto* Petro *susci-*
tata

19. (Y group)

De Tabitha a *beato* Petro *resusci-*
*tata*resuscitata] resuscitata *P*⁶resuscitata] suscitata *P*³*T*

20. (X group)

De Cornelio ab angelo visitato

20. (Y group)

De *centurione* Cornelio ab angelo
hora nona diei visitato

21. (X group)

De visione Petri cum ei de caelo
plenum vas *ostensum est*

visione] visitatione *P*⁴

22. (X group)

De eo ubi *sanctus* Petrus Corne-
lium baptizavit cum suis

sanctus] *P*¹*P*⁴ *omit.*

23. (X group)

De eo ubi *sanctus* Petrus Iero-
solyms retulit cur gentibus prae-
dicasset

praedicasset] praedicasse *P*⁵

24. (X group)

De eo ubi *angelus* nocte *Petrum*
solvens a carcere *produxit*

angelus nocte] nocte angelus *P*¹
produxit] eduxit *P*⁵

21. (Y group)

De visione *beati* Petri cum ei de
caelo plenum vas *fuisset osten-*
sum

ei] *P*⁸*V*⁴ *omit.*
vas] *V*⁴ *evas V*⁴ *suas V*⁴
fuisset ostensum] fuisse ostensit T

22. (Y group)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus Cornelium
cum suis *omnibus* baptizavit

cum suis] cum ut *P*¹

23. (Y group)

De eo ubi *beatus* Petrus Ierosoly-
mis *inquisitus* retulit cur gentibus
praedicasset

praedicasset] *pdi P*⁸
beatus] *Vat omits.*

24. (Y group)

De eo ubi nocte *beatus Petrus* a
carcere *ab angelo solutis vinculis*
est productus

De eo, *etc.*] ubi nocte *beatus Petrus*
solutus est T
nocte] in nocte *P*⁸*V*⁴
a carcere] *EVat omits.*
a] *V*⁴ *omits.*
a] e *P*³*P*⁷

LIBER SECUNDUS

25. (X group)

De eo ubi Saulus qui et Paulus
apud proconsulem Paulum *praedi-*
cavit in Papho

proconsulem] consulem *P*⁶

26. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus Antiochiae in
synagoga praedicans de egressu
Israelitici populi *retulit* menti-
onem

synagoga] sinagogā *P*¹*P*⁵
de egressu] de *P*⁶

27. (X group)

De eo ubi iterum in eadem syna-
goga de passione et resurrectione
Domini praedicavit

28. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus infirmum pedi-
bus curavit in Lystris

29. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus Ierosolymam
a Petro vel cunctis Apostolis de
circumcisione quam Iudaei mo-
verant retulit quaestionem

Ierosolymam] hierosolima *P*⁵*P*⁶
a] *P*¹ omits.

25. (Y group)

De eo ubi Saulus qui et Paulus
apud proconsulem Paulum *praedi-*
care coepit in Papho

apud proconsulem Paulum] apud
proconsule paulo *Vat*

26. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* Antio-
chiae in synagoga praedicans de
egressu Israelitici populi *attulit*
mentionem

Apostolus] *P*⁸*V*⁴ omits.
Israelitici populi attulit] populi
israelitica tulit *P*⁸

27. (Y group)

De eo ubi iterum in eadem syna-
goga de passione et resurrectione
Domini praedicavit

28. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* in-
firmum pedibus curavit in Lystris
Apostolus] *P*³ omits.

29. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* Iero-
solymam *beato* Petro vel cunctis
Apostolis de circumcisione quam
Iudaei moverant retulit quaes-
tionem

Paulus Apostolus] *From here on Vat*
omits until Titulus 35 inclusive.
Ierosolymam] hierosolimae *Vat*
moverant] movebant *Vat*

30. (X group)

De eo ubi *Paulus* a Spiritu pro-
hibetur in Asia praedicare

31. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus in Philippis a
puella pythonem iussit exire

32. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus apud Athenas
cum Epicureis et Stoicis philo-
sophis decertavit

apud Athenas] *P¹P⁴ omit.*
decertavit] dissertavit *P⁶*: decerta-
vit *with the erasure of a letter P⁴*

33. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus Corinthi apud
Aquilam manens populum con-
vertit ad Christum

populum] populum et *P⁴*

34. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus Ephesi duode-
cim viros qui a *Iohanne baptizati*
sunt in Christo baptizavit

duodecim] sedecim *P⁵*

30. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* a
Spiritu prohibetur in Asia praedi-
care

prohibetur] prohibebatur *E*

31. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* in
Philippis a puella pythonem iussit
exire

puella] puellae *Vat*
iussit exire] est eiectus *Vat*

32. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* apud
Athenas cum Epicureis et Stoicis
philosophis decertavit

33. (Y* group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus*
Corinthi apud Aquilam *fidelissi-*
imum virum manens populum
convertit ad Christum

* *V₁⁴ omits.*
populum] *Vat omits.*

34. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus*
Ephesi duodecim viros qui *se*
Iohannis baptismum dixerant ac-
cepisse in Christi baptismo bap-
tizavit

Paulus *Apostolus*] *Apostolus Paulus*
E
dixerant] dixerunt *P⁷Vat*

35. (X group)

De eo ubi in Epheso septem Iudaei sicut Paulus faciebat daemoniaco manus *imponentes* ab eodem lacerati sunt *et fugati pariter*

36. (X group)

De eo ubi in Epheso contra Paulum Demetrius *argentarius seditionem* concitavit

in Epheso] *P⁶ omits.*

37. (X group)

De eo ubi in Troia Paulus Euty-
chum de cenaculo *cadentem* susci-
tavit

38. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus Ierosolymam profecturus cunctis ex Asia *convocatis* valedixit in litore

35. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* in Epheso septem Iudaei sicut Paulus *Apostolus* faciebat daemoniaco manus *imponere praesumentes* ab eo daemoniaco lacerati sunt *pariter et fugati*

ubi Paulus Apostolus] ubi *EP⁸P⁷*
sicut Paulus] sicut *Vat*
pariter] partemque *E*: pariterque *Vat*
lacerati] liberati *Vat*
et fugati] effugati *P⁸V⁴₁*: et *Vat*
omits.

36. (Y group)

De eo ubi in Epheso contra Paulum *Apostolum seditionem* Demetrius *argentarius* concitavit

Apostolum] *P⁸V⁴ Vat omit.*

37. (Y group)

De eo ubi in Troia Paulus *Apostolus* Euty-
chum *adolescentem qui*
de *tertio* cenaculo *cadens mortuus*
fuerat suscitavit

Paulus] *From here on Vat omits.*
cenaculo cadens] cadens cenaculo
Vat
fuerat] *Vat omits.*

38. (Y* group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* Iero-
solymam profecturus cunctis *quos*
ex Asia *convocavit* valedixit in
litore

* *Vat omits.*
Ierosolymam] hierosolima *P⁸*

39. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus in templo comprehensus est a Iudaeis

40. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus apud *Felicem* praesidem *contendens* cum Iudaeis Caesarem appellavit

Felicem] Festum *P¹P⁴*

41. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus ad Italiam sub militari custodia destinatus XIII diebus *ac* noctibus pertulit tempestatem

ac] et *P¹P⁴*
ubi] quod *P⁴P⁵P⁶*

42. (X group)

De eo ubi Paulus *excussit viperam de manu sua* in focum et illis permansit

ubi] quod *P¹*, cf. *supra* 41
de manu sua] *P⁵P⁶* *omits.*
illis (illesus)] ille san' *P⁶*

39. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus Ierosolymis* in templo comprehensus est a Iudaeis

40. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus cum* apud *Festum* praesidem *contenderet* cum Iudaeis appellavit ad Caesarem

cum apud] apud *P⁷*
praesidem] *Vat omits.*
ad] *EP⁷Vat omit.*

41. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* ad Italiam sub militari custodia destinatus XIII diebus *et* noctibus *continuum* pertulit tempestatem

ubi] quod *P⁸V⁴*
ad . . . custodia] sub militari custodia ad Italiam *E*
destinatus] destinatus est *Vat*
et] ac *P⁷Vat*
pertulit] protulit *P⁸*

42. (Y group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus proiecta* in focum *vipera quae manum eius occupaverat* perseveravit illis

proiecta vipera] proiectā viperā *V⁴*
eius] *Vat omits.*
perseveravit illis] est illaesus *Vat*
perseveravit] perseverat *P⁸V⁴: Vat omits.*

43. (*X* group)

De eo ubi Paulus a Melite insula
ubi sanitates fecit navigans Ro-
mam usque pervenit

43. (*Y* group)

De eo ubi Paulus *Apostolus* a
Melite insula in qua signa fecerat
sanitatum navigans Romam usque
pervenit

Melite (milete)] militene *P*⁶

What does this collation of the *tituli* show? First, it corroborates the *capitula* in their grouping of the manuscripts. Second, it places quite definitely some manuscripts unplaced by the *capitula*. Taking up the groups, we find no deviation in the holdings of *X* and *Y* respectively. *X* contains *P*¹*P*⁴*P*⁵*P*⁶; *Y* contains *P*³*P*⁷*P*⁸*V*⁴. *S* has no *tituli*. As with the *capitula*, group *X* has *sanctus*; group *Y* has *beatus*. Group *Y* also consistently applies the epithet *Apostolus* to Paul in book II; group *X* omits it.

The discrepancies are hardly worth mentioning. As with the *capitula* some are palaeographical in their nature, some due to conflation. In Tit. 12 *P*⁵*P*⁶ agree in an important omission. In Tit. 24 *T* substitutes a different reading that is probably the scribe's reworking of the traditional one. Still it should be looked for when other manuscripts are studied. The only other interesting variant is in *P*⁶ (Tit. 42, *ille san'* for *illesus*).

The *tituli*, as already pointed out, help to place manuscripts unplaced by the *capitula*. These are *E* *T* and *Vat*. The first has no *capitula*. Those of the two latter are later than the text. The *tituli* place all of these manuscripts in group *Y*. Then there is *P*⁷ in which the *capitula* were marginal. The *tituli* confirm its place in group *Y*. *D* and *P*², since they possess neither *capitula* nor *tituli*, afford no data under this study for classification. The same may be said of *V*³, for its *capitula* are adventitious. Still *DP*² retain enough traces of numbering to show that their ancestors must have had the *capitula* at least.

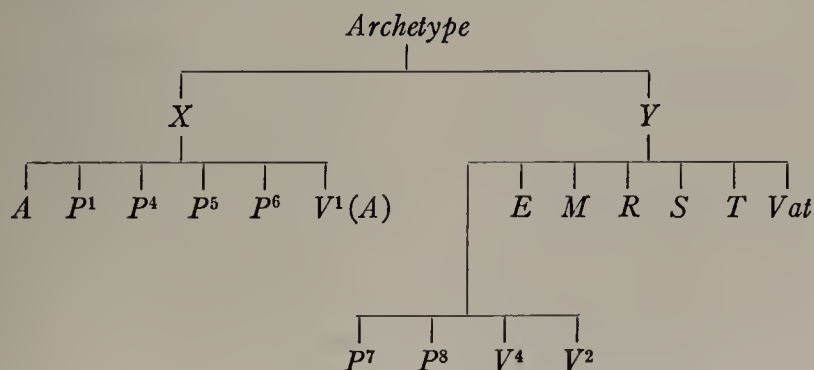
To summarize, my study of the *capitula* and *tituli* shows that there are two families of the manuscripts of Arator thus far observed. Those that can be definitely assigned are:

	Group <i>X</i>			Group <i>Y</i>	
Aurelianus	295	<i>A</i>	Einsiedeln	302	<i>E</i>
Parisinus	8095	<i>P</i> ¹	Monacensis	19451	<i>M</i>

Parisinus	12284	P^4	Parisinus	9347	P^3
"	16700	P^5	"	18554	P^7
"	17905	P^6	"	18555	P^8
Vossianus F.	12	$V^1(A)$	Reginensis	300	R
			St. Gallen	336	S
			Trèves	1469	T
			Vossianus Q.	15	V^2
			" Q.	86	V^4
			Vaticanus Palatinus	1716	Vat

It may be asked whether there appear to be any smaller groups within these families. In group X one is tempted to classify P^1P^4 together and also P^5P^6 . They are frequently found in agreement on variant readings. But there is hardly enough agreement in significant errors to warrant a dogmatic statement. Something more may be said for group Y . $P^7P^8V^4$ and the fragment V^2 seem definitely to go together. $P^7P^8V^4$ agree in the probably corrupt reading of I. 672 at locus V^4 (*et*) for *ad locum*. They all show the *lacunae* of II. 1 where *caecavit* or *caecatusque est* has dropped out, and of II. 623 where *et responso . . . agnoscens* has disappeared, leaving impossible readings in both places. $P^7V^2V^4$ all agree in the corruption *navigasset* for *navigans et* of II. 1206. P^8 stops at II. 962.

Tentatively, then, aside from DP^2V^3 , the manuscripts of Arator studied thus far may be arranged as follows:



Whether study of more manuscripts will shake the conclusions drawn from this collation of the captions and *tituli* remains to be seen;

and whether my collation of the text itself corroborates the findings of the present study is too long a story for this paper and must be reserved for a later one. It also remains to find the sub-classes of the main groups.

NOTE 1. *How the Redactor Reworked the First Edition.* By Ruth Marie Addy.

A comparative study of the redaction and the *Editio Princeps* reveals several interesting changes. A division into categories will perhaps make the changes wrought by the redactor more clear. As in the collation above (cf. page 124), each *capitulum* is cited by the line of Migne's text which immediately follows. The *Editio Princeps* is cited as the text; the variants of the redaction follow. These variants may be divided into eight categories: (1) Words or phrases inserted for the sake of clarity; (2) Synonymous expressions; (3) Changes in construction; (4) Substitution of a clause for a participle or some other construction; (5) Shift in tense or mood of the verb; (6) Substitution of the ablative absolute; (7) Change in word-order; (8) Change in number.

I. *Words or phrases inserted for the sake of clarity.*

I. 119

domum] omnem domum
ut] ita ut
hora tertia] hora diei tertia

I. 160

Christi] Christi Domini

I. 244

ex utero] ex utero matris
divitias] divitias eum
ivit] et currens intravit

I. 335

Apostoli] omnes Apostoli
per eos] per manus eorum
locus] locus in quo stabant

I. 383

multis milibus] multis hominum
milibus
qui praediorum suorum . . . offer-
rebant pretia . . .] qui praedia
sua vendentes deferebant pre-
tia . . . et . . . ponebant . . .

I. 417

uxore] uxore sua

I. 455

omnes aegroti] omnes qui diversis
locis adferebantur aegroti et
eius umbra] sancti corporis eius
umbra
infirmis] infirmitatibus uni-
versis
et daemonibus] et a spiritibus . . .
immundis

I. 515

Iudaei] zelo Iudaeorum
Apostolos] omnes Apostoli
mane] mane hostiis clausis custo-
dibusque ibidem positis

I. 552

debere] oportere se

I. 586

ubi Stephanus] ubi sanctus Ste-
phanus

pro quibus] pro quibus etiam
lapidabant] lapidarent persecu-
tores

I. 624

in felle] in felle et amaritudine

I. 672

spadoni thesaurio] spadoni et the-
saurio
reginae et propinquavit] reginae
admonitusque se propinquavit
legebat Isaiam de . . .] legebat
Isaiam ad locum in quo de . . .
praedixit

I. 708

Saulus Damascum] Saulus ad
Damascum
claritate] claritate de caelo
percussus caecatus est; triduo]
percussus Christum audiens et
agnoscens cecidit caecatus tri-
duoque sic fuit

I. 754

et qui] Cui dixit, "Surge et sterne
tibi;" et mox qui
erant] erant Domino

I. 801

Tabitham] Tabitham eleemosy-
nariam
in Ioppe] invitatus a Lydde in
Ioppe
eam] mortuam . . . eam
manufacta] manu eius facta

I. 846

hora nona] hora diei nona
ad Petrum] ad beatum Petrum

II. *Synonymous expressions.*¹

I. 21

ad fines] ad extremum

I. 69

diffusa] effusa
et] -que

I. 878

Petro] beatus Petrus
hora sexta] hora diei sexta
vas] vas sibi
audivit] audivit vocem

I. 931

Petrus] beatus Petrus
est profectus] pariter est profectus
cum suis] cum suis omnibus

I. 966

Petrus] beato Petro

I. 1007

Petrum] beatus Petrus
angelus ad Petrum ingressus est in
carcerem nocte] Petrus cum cus-
todiretur in carcere nocte ange-
lus est ingressus
ubi] ubi se

II. 1

increpans] increpans eum
obsistentem] praedicanti . . . ob-
sisteret

II. 40

quod] eo quod

II. 156

claudum] claudum ex utero matris
credere] praedicante eo fidem
habere
quos de] quos allocutus de
crederent] credere nunc

II. 383

motu] motu nocte

I. 119

veniens] descens
erant] congregati erant
Alii] Quidam
repletos] plenos

¹ To save repetition it will be sufficient to note that the redactor always reads *beatus* where the *Editio Princeps* has *sanctus*.

I. 160

quomodo] quem ad modum
soluti sunt] fuerint resoluti
et] atque
illa die] eodem die

I. 244

et] -que
verbo] sermone
accessit] processit
cum illis] cum his

I. 335

laudarunt] laudes dixerunt
memorantes] commemorantes

I. 383

offerebant pretia] deferebant
pretia

I. 417

de] ex
et] atque

I. 455

daemonibus] spiritibus

I. 515

miserunt] sunt detrusi
perduxit] produxit
non in carcere] magis quam in car-
cere

I. 552

debere] oportere
magis praedicare] verbo magis
praedicationis insistere

I. 586

indulgeretur] ignosceretur

I. 624

quod] quia

I. 672

visa aqua] iussa aqua

I. 708

et de eius] De cuius

I. 801

dicitur] vocabatur

I. 846

dixit] nuntiavit
docens] admonens
pro fide] propter . . . fidem
noscenda] agnoscendam

I. 878

vel] aut
Dominus] Deus

I. 931

Cum quibus] eorum

I. 966

inquirebatur] inquisitio fiebat
Dei iussione] divina iussione

I. 1007

Ierusalem] Ierosolymam

II. 40

populi Israel] Israelitici populi
multa miracula] diversa mirabilia

II. 96

sepultura] monumento
ibi] ibidem

II. 156

credere] fidem habere

II. 307

accessit] peraccessit

II. 383

Philippis a puella] a pythonissa
puella
Paulus quod] Paulo quia

III. *Changes in construction.*

- I. 69
alterum eligerent] alter eligeretur
- I. 211
collaudabant . . . habentes] habitabant collaudantes . . . atque habentes
- I. 335
signa faceret] signa facere dignaretur
- I. 455
umbra sanabantur] umbra sanabat
- I. 515
Apostolos . . . miserunt] Apostoli . . . sunt detrusi
- I. 586
caelis apertis] caelos apertos aspiciens
stantem vidit] stantem videre se dixit
qui lapidabant] cum lapidarent

- I. 624
Qui a Petro increpatus confusus est] Qui beato Petro est increpante confusus
- I. 878
ostensum est] vidit ostendi
cum negaret comedere] cum se negaret posse comedere
- I. 931
Cum quibus invitatus] audiensque invitationem eorum
- I. 1007
in carcerem] cum custodiretur in carcere
ibi se vere liberum agnoscens] ibi veritatem liberationis agnoscens
- II. 156
Christo crederent] Christo credere nunc deberent
- II. 383
expulit] iussit exire

IV. *Substitution of a clause for a participle or some other construction.*

- I. 455
aegroti iacentes] qui . . . aegroti iacebant
- I. 586
primus martyr] qui primus martyr effectus est
- I. 624
iam baptizatus] qui iam fuerat baptizatus
- I. 672
Cui praedicans] Cui cum evangelizasset

- I. 708
vadens vastare] vadens ut . . . vastaret
- I. 878
esurienti] cum esuriret
- I. 931
legatos Corneli] eos quos Cornelius misit
- II. 1
et magum obsistentem] et cum . . . magus obsisteret

V. *Shift in tense or mood of the verb.*

- I. 119
dixerunt] dicebant
- I. 160
soluti sunt] fuerint resoluti
- I. 455
curarentur] curabantur
- I. 586
qui lapidabant] cum lapidarent

- I. 624
ut . . . facere possit] ut . . . facere
posset
- I. 672
aqua repetit] aqua repetiit
- I. 801
dicitur] vocabatur
- I. 931
superveniret] supervenisset

- I. 966
baptizati sunt] fuerint baptizati
- II. 96
crediderunt] credidissent
- II. 156
numquam ambulavit] numquam
ambulaverat
- II. 383
carcerarius voluit] carcerarius vo-
luisset

VI. *Substitution of the ablative absolute.*

- I. 1007
et pulsans latus] pulsatoque latere

- II. 1
per Spiritum] admonente Spiritu

VII. *Change in word-order.*

- I. 119
variis locuti sunt] variis sunt
locuti
- I. 160
soluti sunt] fuerint resoluti
- I. 244
ad Portam Speciosam templi] ad
Portam templi Speciosam
- I. 293
respondente sunt] sunt respon-
dente
- I. 586
lapidatur a Iudaeis] a Iudaeis
lapidatur
- I. 624
increpatus confusus est] est incre-
pante confusus
- I. 708
vastare Ecclesiam Christi] Christi
vastaret Ecclesiam
- I. 846
dixit angelus] angelus nuntiavit

- eius eleemosynae] eleemosynae
eius
pro fide noscenda] propter agnos-
cendam fidem
Ad quem misit tres] Ad quem tres
misit
- I. 878
hora sexta Petro] Petrus hora diei
sexta
- I. 966
baptizati sunt] fuerint baptizati
- I. 1007
angelus . . . ingressus est in car-
cerem nocte] in carcere nocte
angelus est ingressus
- II. 40
populi Israel] Israelitici populi
- II. 96
et gentiles qui ibi erant] et qui
erant gentiles ibidem
- II. 383
caesus est et missus in carcerem]
caesus et missus in carcerem est

VIII. *Change in number.*

II. 96

loquerentur] loqueretur

II. 242

quae] quod

From the above study we conclude that the redactor has striven by one means or another to make the text of the *Editio Princeps* more clear. He has not changed the context, nor has he added new thoughts, but he has worked to banish all possible chance for doubt from the reader's mind. In the redactor's seemingly free use of synonyms and different constructions we recognize an interest in shades of meaning and an attempt to bring out just the right idea. When we compare the two texts carefully, the redaction seems to be the work of a more careful scholar who has made use of a more balanced and polished sentence-structure the better to round out the meaning.

NOTE 2. *Whether the First or Second Editor Followed the Bible more Closely.* By Celia Gertrude Lowe.

As has been shown already, the *capitula* fall into two groups, the *Editio Princeps* and the redaction. Since the work is a commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, it would be interesting to know which editor followed the *Bible* more closely. A critical study and comparison of the *capitula* with the *Acts*, treating the *Editio Princeps* as the text and the redaction (*R*) and the *Bible* (*B*) as variants, may solve this problem for us. In the following note, only those *capitula* are cited which follow the *Bible* so closely that a verbal comparison can be made. The text followed is Eberhard Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*,¹ sixth edition (1921).

- I. 119 Alii musto repletos esse dixerunt cum esset hora tertia]
Quidam musto plenos esse dicebant cum esset (*R*): Alii
autem irridentes dicebant: quia musto pleni sunt isti (*B*)
- I. 211 Collaudabant] habitabant collaudantes atque (*R*): collau-
dantes . . . et habentes (*B*)
- I. 244 ex utero] ex utero matris (*R*): ex utero matris (*B*)
ivit cum illis] intravit cum his (*R*): intravit cum illis (*B*)

¹ Based on the *Vulgate* of St. Jerome and on other sources.

- I. 383** Ante pedes Apostolorum offerebant] vendentes deferebant . . . et ponebant ante pedes Apostolorum (*R*): vendentes afferebant . . . et ponebant ante pedes Apostolorum (*B*)
- I. 417** de pretio agri] ex pretio agri (*R*): de pretio agri (*B*)
conscia uxore] conscia uxore sua (*R*): conscia uxore sua (*B*)
- I. 455** daemonibus curarentur] a spiritibus curabantur inmundis (*R*): a spiritibus inmundis . . . qui curabantur omnes (*B*)
- I. 624** iam baptizatus] iam fuerat baptizatus (*R*): cum baptizatus esset (*B*)
in felle] in felle et amaritudine (*R*): in felle enim amaritudinis (*B*)
- I. 708** claritate] claritate de caelo (*R*): lux de caelo (*B*)
(. . .)] audiens et agnoscens cecidit (*R*): cadens in terram audivit vocem dicentem (*B*)
- I. 754** (. . .)] Cui dixit, "Surge et sterne tibi" (*R*): Ait illi . . . "Surge et sterne tibi" (*B*)
crediderunt] Domino crediderunt (*R*): conversi sunt ad Dominum (*B*)
- I. 801** Dorcas dicitur] Dorcas vocabatur (*R*): dicitur Dorcas (*B*)
- I. 846** hora nona] hora diei nona (*R*): hora diei nona (*B*)
- I. 878** hora sexta] hora diei sexta (*R*): circa horam sextam (*B*)
esurienti] cum esuriret (*R*): cum esuriret (*B*)
hoc est ter factum] hoc ter est factum (*R*): hoc factum est per ter (*B*)
- I. 931** legatos Cornelii] eos quos Cornelius misit (*R*): qui missi erant a Cornelio (*B*)
- I. 1007** (. . .)] cum custodiretur in carcere (*R*): custodes . . . custodiebant carcerem (*B*)
et pulsans latus] pulsatoque latere (*R*): percussoque latere (*B*)
- II. 156** qui nunquam ambulavit] ex utero matris qui numquam ambulaverat (*R*): ex utero matris suae, qui numquam ambulaverat (*B*)
- II. 383** Paulus quod] Paulo quia (*R*): Paulos . . . Quia (*B*)

From this comparison we can see quite clearly that the redactor used the *Acts* as a basis for his revision. Though the critical apparatus speaks for itself, yet a few explanations may be in point. In many cases the redactor followed the *Acts* more closely in thought although he did not quote *verbatim*. In many cases it seems that he supplied a synonym in order to avoid quoting the *Bible* directly. For example, in *Capitulum* I. 708 the redaction reads *claritate de caelo*, the *Bible* has *lux de caelo*. In the same *capitulum* we find that the redactor has added the following clause to the version of the *Editio Princeps*, *audiens et agnoscens cecidit*; the *Bible* has *cadens in terram audivit vocem dicentem*. Most of the variations in verb forms can be traced directly to the *Bible*, such as *dicebant* for *dixerunt*, *intravit* for *ivit*, *cum esuriret* for *esurienti*.

It has already been noted that the *capitula* fall into one text after II. 383. As we approach this point, we also find that there is much less verbal reference to the *Bible*. From here on we have only one reference in which the phraseology is similar to that of the *Bible* (*Capitulum* II. 913). This fact, it seems, definitely corroborates my statement that the redactor used the *Bible* as a basis for his variations.

NOTE 3. *How Strictly are the Capitula a Resumé of Arator?* By Celia Gertrude Lowe.

As has been noted above (p. 123), the *capitula* are summaries of the corresponding portions of Arator's commentary. Accordingly it may be worth while to determine how careful the editor was in his summarizing, whether he has made only a loose resumé of the text or whether he has undertaken to include all the data that Arator has covered in his discussion.

Limitations of space prohibit the presentation of all the *capitula*, but a few chosen at random will suffice to indicate the answer to this problem. In the following notes the numbers in parentheses refer to the lines of the text of Arator.

In *Capitulum* I. 21 the following incidents are taken up: the resurrection (ll. 15-20), the forty day stay on earth, the command to the apostles, feasting (ll. 20-27), Mount Olivet (ll. 28-30), the ascension (ll. 31-43), the amazement of the disciples and the warning to the angels (ll. 43-55), the journey to Jerusalem (ll. 55-69).

In *Capitulum* I. 455, Arator discusses fewer incidents, although he devotes more space to them than in the above *capitulum*. He tells (ll. 455-465) of the sick incited to seek salvation, and (ll. 465-515) of the healing of the sick who came within the shadow.

Capitulum II. 506 is especially interesting for its poetical comments and symbolism. The incidents referred to are: Paul's arrival at Corinth and his happening upon Aquila (ll. 506-511), their interest in building tents and tabernacles (ll. 511-515), Christ's admonition to Paul to keep on preaching (ll. 515-569).

Thus, it is apparent that there is no incident in the text which is not foreshadowed in the *capitula*. It is true that the author many times makes extensive use of poetic imagination and lengthy comments, but if the reader is careful he will find some word in the *capitulum* which covers the whole description.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1931-32

DONALD GAY BAKER. — *Animals on the Coins of Greek Cities* ¹

IT HAS been the usually accepted opinion that the motives governing the choice of the types of coins of Greek cities were predominantly religious. But the importance of other motives, such as the imitative and decorative, has sometimes been suggested. This thesis is an attempt to discover more precisely the motives behind the choice of the types. For this purpose those coins were classified and discussed which bear animals as types or symbols. This group was selected because it includes many of the earliest of the Greek coins and because many of the animals might be definitely symbolic of one or more of the gods. They have, indeed, frequently been so interpreted. A comprehensive list of the coins of the Greek cities on which mammals and mammalian monsters are used as types or symbols was made. The list was further arranged in such a manner that it might prove useful for the identification of coins on which the inscriptions are absent or partly obliterated; and that from the new classification and grouping of these coins (according to the animals depicted on them) more light might be shed on such questions as the distribution of various animals in antiquity, the prevalence of direct copying of other coins, the similarity of early coins to gems. The list describes some 2300 coins on which over thirty-five kinds of beasts occur.

An examination of the *motives* determining the choice of those animals used as types results in the following classification:

Religious	25
Punning	6
Indicative of a common species	20
Decorative	88
Imitative	89
Symbolic of a distinctive custom or event	21
Symbolic of something not religious	4
Referring to a myth	25
Unclassified	21
<hr/>	
Total	299

¹ Degree in Classical Archaeology.

that is to say, religious — 25; not religious — 253; unclassified — 21.

Obviously these classifications are only approximately accurate since for many of the coin-types no motive is apparent at all, and some types might be classed in more than one group (e.g., a single animal type might refer to a myth, it might be copied from the type of another city, or again it might owe its use in part to the common presence of the animal in the vicinity). Thus the evidence is scarcely ever complete enough to make the motive quite certain. It is possible, however, to detect quite surely instances of punning, imitation, or reference to a myth; and, in any case, to discover when there is no trace of a religious motive. The above statistics, then, show that only about one out of ten of the designs was chosen with a purely religious motive, a conclusion which challenges the customary view of the dominance of the religious motive. The reasons for the choice of symbols cannot be surely determined since there is usually no information available about the men who chose them, and many of the symbols are mere space-fillers or decorative touches added by the artist. The choice of the coin-designs seems to have been left to the artist much more than has been hitherto supposed, and evidently he felt no necessity for using a type with a religious significance.

PURUSHOTTAM VISHVANATH BAPAT. — *Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā: a Comparative Study*¹

THE main purpose of this dissertation is to give a detailed presentation of the contents, with an attempted reconstruction of the Indian terms wherever possible, of the *Chieh-t'o-tao-lun*, a Chinese translation made in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. of Upatissa's *Vimuttimaggā* (or *Vimokṣamārgaśāstra*, as Nanjio renders it in his catalogue of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, no. 1293), and to compare it section by section with Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimaggā* (a Pāli text written in Ceylon in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.). The introduction summarizes those data resulting from this comparative study, which have a bearing on the interrelation of the two texts.

For the *Vimuttimaggā* the Tokyo and the Taisho editions and a handy popular edition published at Bi-ling in the province of Kiang-su

¹ Degree in Indic Philology.

in 1918 have been used. For the *Visuddhimagga* the edition by the late Henry Clarke Warren and D. Kosambi (shortly to be published in the *Harvard Oriental Series*) has been used. Use has also been made of the Burmese edition of Dhammapāla's *Paramatthamañjūsā* (a commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*).

Both works give comprehensive summaries of the main points of Buddhist doctrine according to the early Theravādin school. Each is a sort of 'Summa Theologiae.'

Although there are many dissimilarities and disagreements concerning minor points of doctrine, the two works follow the same general plan of exposition, so that with few exceptions they may be compared chapter by chapter and section by section. Broadly speaking, the same texts are quoted from the Pāli canon to illustrate the same points of doctrine. Further there are many quotations from older teachers and older non-canonical books which are found in identical or nearly identical words in the two works. Despite the fact that each work contains a considerable bulk of matter which is not found in the other, the general plan in each is so similar, and there is such overwhelming agreement in the use of older canonical and non-canonical material, that it hardly seems possible that the two works can be absolutely independent parallel compilations. Their relationship seems to be too close to warrant this conclusion.

Buddhaghosa often refers in the *Visuddhimagga* to what are called the "views of others" in connexion with minor points of doctrine which he does not accept, and in eight or nine cases these "views of others" correspond exactly to views set forth and favored by Upatissa. In some such cases the passages correspond word for word. In at least four of these cases Dhammapāla, in his commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, explains that Buddhaghosa alludes to the adherents of the Abhayagiri school of Ceylon, and in one case (3.80) he explicitly states that the word "some" is used with reference to Upatissa, and that Upatissa has made such a statement in the *Vimuttimaggā* (*Ekacce ti Upatissattheraṃ sandhāyāha. Tena hi Vimuttamagge tathā vuttam.*).

The exact date of Dhammapāla has not yet been fixed. Some would place him hardly more than a generation after Buddhaghosa, some would place him nearly two centuries later. His accuracy and value as a commentator are still under dispute. But the writer of this disserta-

tion feels that the above quotation, which indicates clearly that Dhammapāla thought that Buddhaghosa in using the word "some" referred to the *Vimuttamagga* of Upatissa, cannot be dismissed lightly. There is the possibility that Buddhaghosa refers to older texts made use of by Upatissa, that Upatissa is to be placed between Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, and that Dhammapāla is wrong in seeing a specific reference to Upatissa himself. But its validity can be determined only by further research.

The explicit testimony of Dhammapāla, supported by such circumstantial evidence as is available concerning religious conditions in South India and Ceylon during the early centuries of the Christian era, and strengthened by the internal evidence of the books themselves, makes highly probable the view that the *Vimuttimagga* was originally written in India, that it was accepted by the Abhayagiri school in Ceylon, and that quite likely it was written before Buddhaghosa. It seems, therefore, that Upatissa's explanation of a number of technical terms is simpler, more natural, and less artificial and scholastic than the explanations of Buddhaghosa.

GEORGE FORRESTER DAVIDSON. — *Quo modo et qua ratione poetae scaenici graeci Euripides Menanderque personas in scaenam introduxerint*¹

THE object of the study was to assess, as critically as possible, the positions held by the two poets Euripides and Menander in the development of entrance-technique, and to evaluate, from the point of view of manipulation and motivation, whatever original contributions they may have made to devices of entrance. The reasons for choosing these two playwrights are briefly as follows. (1) The extreme effectiveness of certain entrances in the fragments of Menander prompts the questions whether certain devices are here used for the first time to give this realistic impressiveness; or whether merely the "fortuitous concurrence" of circumstances, so blended in each case as to create a peculiar situation (apart from the entrance devices themselves), is responsible for the result that excites our admiration? The answer was to be sought in a detailed study of Menander's predecessors in the drama, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. The *a*

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

priori probability was that, among these, study of Euripides, because of his admittedly great influence on Menander in other respects, would prove most fruitful, especially since the very realism and effectiveness of the entrances which attract our attention are intimately connected with the greater 'humanity' and naturalness which Euripides is reputed to have attempted to introduce into his plays in bringing the drama 'down out of heaven' and placing it among men. (2) A further reason for the selection of Euripides as the second author deserving of particular study was the fact that he holds roughly a midway position between the intelligible beginnings of Greek drama and the epoch of Menander. The other poets, however, were not altogether neglected; for only by comparison with them was it possible to evaluate the relative worth of Euripidean and Menandrian technique.

The main part of the thesis is divided into three sections: (1) Prologue-Entrances, (2) Choral-Entrances, and (3) Character-Entrances in the middle of the Play. In regard to the entrances of characters who open the play, it is argued that here only is the dramatist permitted to present his characters to the audience without particular motivation: the audience grants to the poet complete freedom to set the scene and characters wherever desired. But every character brought to that scene thereafter must be logically motivated. Here, then, the question of motivation of entrances plays no part. As for the manipulation of the opening entrances, a marked difference is observed between Menander and Euripides in that the comic poet distinctly favoured the use of a dialogue-entrance to open his plays, whereas Euripides relied almost solely on the device of the soliloquizing prologue. Thus in Menander the prologue-setting is given up and the characters are identified naturally through the medium of dialogue, but Euripides was forced to resort to a rather formal and correspondingly less natural exposition of the situation, placed in the mouth of a single character. The device of opening with dialogue was favoured by Sophocles and Aristophanes before Menander, and similarly the device of an opening dialogue followed by a formal deferred prologue (as found in Menander's *Hero* and *Periceirromene*) goes back to Aristophanes (e.g. *Birds*, *Wasps*). Nor is Euripides original in his use of the soliloquizing prologue (for Phrynichus and Aeschylus before him are known to have used it), but only in his peculiarly formalized and, to us, stilted and unnatural adaptation of it. There are noteworthy parallels in Aeschylus

and Sophocles to show that certain Euripidean openings beginning with ἤκω λιπών are merely due to adaptation, not to invention by Euripides.

The second section treats of the choral entrances, where also the influence of Aristophanes on Menander is shown. Aristophanes seems always to have made a point of announcing the approach of the chorus before its actual appearance, but the tragic poets are comparatively inconsistent in this regard. Menander announces very definitely the first entrance of the chorus both in the *Epitrepontes* and in the *Periceïromene*, and probably in the *Georgos*. The succeeding entries, however, he does not announce beforehand. It is probable, therefore, that the first entrance of the chorus was always definitely announced by Menander, following the practice of Aristophanes, whereas succeeding entrances, for which there is no precedent in Aristophanes, are not announced or referred to in any way in the dialogue, but are interludes pure and simple. The first entrance of the chorus, then, being announced in the dialogue, is the last vestige of any connexion between the chorus and the play proper. As for the motivation of the choral entrance, little if any attempt to provide such is found in Menander; Euripides in most cases provides adequate motivation, usually attributing to his choruses motives for entering which are like those used by Aeschylus and Sophocles, but occasionally introducing something novel, such as the "Wäschemotiv"; in his later plays, however, the motivation tends to become increasingly superficial and inadequate, culminating in the flimsy excuses of the *Phoenissae* and the *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

The latter part of this section deals with the cases of *epiparodoi* in the *Alcestis*, *Helen*, and *Rhesus*. In the *epiparodoi* which occur in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Sophocles' *Ajax*, no particular motivation is demanded, for the action on the part of the chorus merely represents a change of scene, so that the motive given for the exit of the chorus from one place suffices for its entry upon the new scene. In Euripides, however, the chorus returns a second time to the same spot. There is no change of scene; hence a separate motivation is logically required for both exit and *epiparodos*. Is not the fact that Euripides fails to provide an adequate motive for the *epiparodos* in any of the three plays evidence of laxity in the matter of motivation?

In the last section, dealing with character-entrances in the middle of the play, are discussed generally, in all three tragedians as well as in Menander, certain outstanding types of entrance, such as the dialogue-entry in the middle of the play, the soliloquizing entrance so common in Menander and in poets of New Comedy generally, and the "irrelevant" entry, so-called because the opening lines of the entering character have no bearing on the situation. The entrance "ex abrupto," in which the entering characters continue a conversation already begun off stage, is also treated. Menander is shown to be, as far as can be determined from extant literature, "the first of the moderns" in the realistic motivation of character-entrance. Traces of attempts at such motivation on the part of Euripides are noted, but it appears that his influence on Menander in this matter at least is less than in others.

JOB EDGAR JOHNSON. — *Roman Portrait Art, its source and realism*¹

ROMAN portraiture is noted for its realism. That truth to nature, rather than an idealized portrait, was generally desired would be less a source of wonder if the riches of Greek art had not supplied models of ideal portraiture in such abundance. How can the Roman preference for realism be explained?

Various attempts at explanation have been made. Hellenistic portraiture, because of its realistic tendency, the waxen masks of ancestors, which were a possession of the privileged Patricians, and Etruscan portraiture, have all been suggested as possible sources of the Roman predilection for realism. But none of these furnishes a satisfactory explanation.

For an adequate treatment of the subject it seems necessary to consider the migrations which the ancestors of the Romans made before attaining a permanent home in Italy. These 'migrations' intensified the dependence of Italic tribes upon annual leaders or upon the special leaders of migration-years, and thus in a measure prepared them for implicit obedience to a leader and his *imperium*. They imbued the nation with practicality, because only the barest necessities could be carried on a series of migrations such as are assumed. Living in close contact with nature made the type of worship which the Romans

¹ Degree in Classical Archaeology.

adopted almost inevitable. It intensified their interest in the spirits of their ancestors, the great and successful leaders of the past. Their family-organization, the basis of the migration-organization, still served them when they became permanently located in Latium. It emphasized the importance of ancestors, and of their personalities; hence the great interest in portraiture among the Romans.

The early forms of Roman worship have a bearing upon the subject. The unknown was felt to be the province of spirits, and to these products of their imagination the primitive Romans gave human form. Moreover, these spirits were looked upon as masters of man's destiny. The task of religion, therefore, was to make them favorable.

The transition from this early animistic form to later forms is simple. Throughout history religious feeling has been moved by an impulse to seek the cause of every occurrence. It tries to be in harmony with advancing knowledge and must rise from the lower to the higher, and finally come to honor a highest, morally perfect, Being. But it is clear that this knowledge gained its first impulse from outer nature and was awakened by its riddles, first from those near at hand — phenomena hard to grasp, e.g., from death and its accompaniments. One of its results was ancestor worship, of which the private cult, so vital a part of Roman religion, is a logical outgrowth. In the private cult, therefore, may be seen the Roman mind especially directed to religion in its personal aspect. Here, therefore, is the place to look for the real source of Roman portraiture, so far as it can be confined to a single phase of Roman life.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the facts revealed for the history of religion and of the family cult by the evidence of archaeology. In this connexion, the specific objects considered were burial vases found in Etruscan and Villanovan cemeteries. It is assumed that the descendants of Indo-European speaking immigrants were an important element of the population of northern and central Italy, including Etruria. This element is here termed Villanovan.

About 850 B.C. the Etruscans entered Italy, apparently by peaceful infiltration rather than conquest, and developed a new civilization, which exercised a lasting influence upon the development of Rome, especially in certain religious practices; but apparently the Etruscans did not interfere with the burial customs of the Villanovans.

The Villanovan cremation burial vases showing human faces furnish definite objective evidence. They belong to three periods and are perhaps an early attempt at portraiture. The third group, that from Chiusi, is the most important. If we can assume that the practice which they show was general throughout Italy, as seems reasonable, we have the source of the later waxen masks of the Romans, and a foundation for realistic portrait art.

Roman funeral customs, the deification of emperors, coin-portraits, and certain Roman virtues may be invoked to corroborate this argument. The revival of religion under Augustus, and his interest in portraiture, add to the evidence. A final argument is found in the revival of portraiture by the Flavian emperors and its persistence in later centuries after many other kinds of Roman art had ceased to be practised.

EIVION OWEN. — *De ratione civili Aeschylea* ¹

THIS dissertation is concerned with the political ideas propounded in the tragedies of Aeschylus. It begins with a brief statement of the method followed in estimating what significance may fairly be attached to expressions of opinion occurring in dramatic compositions, and especially in determining how far the poet's own political views are likely to be manifested in his writings.

Political thought originates with the realization that the community is something other than the sum of its several members, and that the common good may apparently run counter to the private interests of individuals. Aeschylus illustrates different aspects of this conflict in the cases of Eteocles and Polynices, of Antigone, and of Agamemnon. Aeschylean speculation has always a strong religious tendency, and at the outset it is necessary to examine the character of the religious sanction upon which the authority and stability of political institutions are considered to depend. Particularly important is Aeschylus' conception of divine justice in so far as it affects the state, and of the civic duties which are more especially prescribed by the dictates of piety. Next are considered the two primary political obligations — the duties of defending the native city in war and of preserving harmony within its bounds.

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

Of fundamental importance in the theory of the state is the concept of liberty. Aeschylus has something to say of personal liberty as opposed to the condition of slavery, and of liberty in the wider sense enjoyed by those who possess the full rights of citizenship in their native country. The negation of such liberty is exile; but its perfect attainment depends upon the kind of institutions with which a community is endowed.

The attitude of Aeschylus towards different types of government becomes fairly evident. His dislike of tyranny as the worst form of constitution is made plain especially by the language of Prometheus. Legitimate monarchy on the other hand is regarded in a different light, the benevolent despotism of Darius and the popular rule of Pelasgus being portrayed with unmistakable sympathy. The poet's interest in kingship is well illustrated by the large number of royal titles which from time to time he employs and by his wide acquaintance with monarchical institutions. Allusions to democracy are on the whole not hostile, though in the *Septem* and the *Agamemnon* traces of a critical attitude are to be discerned. Of aristocracy as a form of government there is little or nothing to be found, but the aristocratic type of character receives highly laudatory treatment.

Something may be inferred about the views of Aeschylus with regard to the position of women in the state and not a little about his attitude towards the rights of foreigners. In this connexion must be considered his ideas concerning Hellenic unity and the relations of Hellene and barbarian.

Indications are not lacking that Aeschylus was in some measure indebted to earlier writers for his political views and the attempt has been made in this dissertation to establish in particular his obligations to Solon and to Pythagoras.

Finally some account is given of the attitude which Aeschylus adopted towards the Athenian political parties of his day. The evidence bearing upon his relation to Pericles and other leaders is examined and the conclusion reached that the political pronouncements found in the *Eumenides* represent the sentiments not, as is sometimes maintained, of a wholehearted supporter of the Periclean policy, but of one deeply committed to the conservative cause and unable to reconcile himself to the innovations effected by the popular party.

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